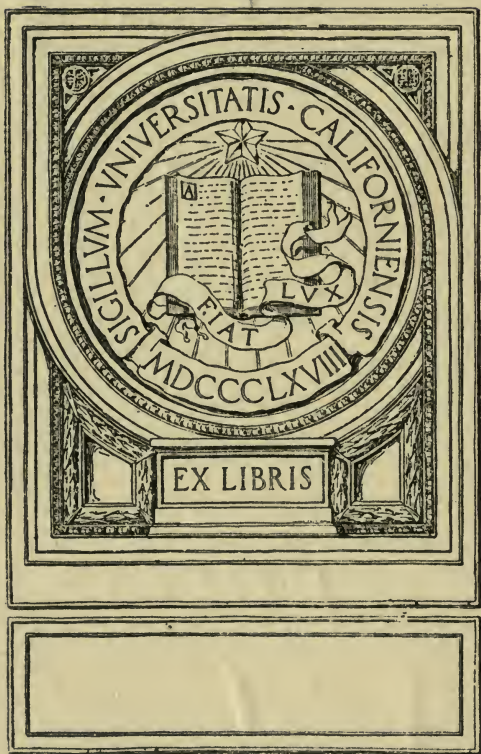


INSIDE THE BRITISH ISLES

ARTHUR CLARKE





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BY ARTHUR GLEASON



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INSIDE THE BRITISH ISLES

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CHAPTER I

DEMOCRACY ON THE MARCH

THIS book is necessarily superficial and frankly dogmatic and impressionistic. It claims to be nothing more than the notes of an American who desires to see good-will established between England and the United States. In the furtherance of that, the author has sought to do his bit, as multitudes of better men have done theirs. The first great opportunity in one hundred and fifty years for an Anglo-American understanding has come. It has come in large part because young Britons have gone out and died in defence of the values which created and nourished America. It has also come because certain Americans recognised the worth of the British sacrifice for the future of all nations, and during nearly three years have sought to bring that sacrifice home to the consciousness of the American people. The unwearied efforts of Theodore Roosevelt, Frank Simonds, Charles William Eliot, Professor Prince, Agnes Repplier and many more, have, we believe, done much for the future

peace of the world. And their work was for long done in loneliness and under a bitter fire of criticism. Let us remember them in these days of richer friendliness.

If the writing at any point seems harsh to traditions and aspects which are precious to the British reader because he has a more fundamental understanding of their inner meaning than the writer, let that reader be generous and consider the task appointed. A section of American public opinion (not a majority, but a small, noisy and wilful minority) has long cherished three emotional "complexes" about England. These are :—

1. England is a tyrant State.
2. Democracy, as Americans understand it, is unknown in England.
3. England is the persistent oppressor of Ireland, a united nation.

These conceptions of modern England—the England of the trades unions, women workers, the volunteer army, the *Nation*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Round Table*, William Temple, Margaret McMillan, Gilbert Chesterton—seemed to one American observer, at least, over-simplified. So he has tried to show that the English people are making the same fight as the American people against the financial oligarchy and industrial materialism. By the recognition of a common aim in the creation of a good life more international sympathy will be formed than by vigorous, sarcastic "leaders" on Irish affairs, the suppression of the foreign circulation of the *Nation*, the detention of Mr. Bertrand Russell, the harrying of Russian

refugees, the censoring of non-military articles written by American correspondents in England, and inconsistencies in the treatment of conscientious objectors. The police, the censor, reactionary journalists, and the Earl of Derby may be right in each one of their drastic activities. But in binding together the Middle West and Lancashire, one is sure that emphasis is more properly laid on the struggle of the British democracy to be free, on the continuing fight for personal liberty, and on the good-will of the British worker toward Ireland and America.

England has acted on the world as a principle of release for freedom, sometimes by irritating it into activity, as with the American colonies, sometimes by co-operating with it, as in Canada and Australia. The balance of power has departed from England to a wider area. But the principle of government which creates and directs that power continues to be an English principle. It is the principle of democratic control. England is no longer the overshadowing power in a union, but is the equal among equals.

If that extension of power among her members is true of England on her island, it is also true of her among her colonies. Already the new cabinet has called the dominions to a special war conference. This is the first step in a momentous change in the constitution of the empire.¹ The peoples of the

¹ See the late Earl of Cromer's essay in "After War Problems," and the speeches of General Smuts. Compare with Appendix, "Imperial Parliament."

dominions are not contented with their status, and they refuse to go on indefinitely under the present arrangement, which focuses all imperial responsibility in the hands of statesmen of the British Isles. They determined to have a voice in foreign policy, and in the creation of an interlocking imperial domestic policy, which will organize the resources of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India. The constitutional reconstruction calls for the continuation of the Imperial Conference and the creation of an Imperial Cabinet. If this reconstruction remains in the near future no more than a Conference and a Cabinet, it nevertheless is a constitutional change of import. Influence is not government, and an advisory gathering is not an executive board, but influence affects government, and consultation tends increasingly towards execution. Also, certain problems will hurry the informal Imperial Conference and Cabinet to a more responsible setting in relation to the communities sending the representatives. Ireland, "empire resources," immigration, tariff, are four such problems.

The result of this will be the most populous, largest, most powerful state in the world, and that state will not be an autocracy. It will be a commonwealth, an agreement of equals. It will act from one will, with one purpose. The operations of that will inside so vast an organism will seem almost like a process of nature. Its influence will be decisive on the immediate future of the human race. Under the perfected internal organization, which is the very purpose of the union, the food-supply of a fifth of mankind will

in time be guaranteed. The land question will gradually be solved. The balance of agriculture to industry will be determined and established. The problems of labour will be dealt with in a freedom of opportunity, and an increase of productive power which would have seemed utopian to an earlier generation. That commonwealth will be a league of peace which will give the first stable basis for a world peace.

This will be the greatest extension of democratic control ever applied to the map of the world. The dimensions of it are so large that the imagination even of its projectors has not wakened to what it implies. A great organism of democracies, excepting only India, will exist in a world still half in political bondage. It will carry its community far along in the twofold purpose of all government—the control of environment and the betterment of human relationships. Suppose the bundle of states in Europe were suddenly to be thrown together in a vast republican state of common purpose, determined on a unified domestic and foreign policy, then we should have no more amazing entity than in this plan of the new British commonwealth. Impossible, of course, for Europe, because there is no central principle, overriding differences of tradition, race, and language; but possible and about to be consummated in the empire, because the central principle of democratic control is accepted, and because the kinship of blood and language exists. And it is all so obvious. The synthesis, once stated, demands its own realization. It is like the enlightenment which the faithful believe

we shall receive after death, when we shall say, "Why, of course."

Such is the dream which British statesmen will proceed to put into execution at the close of the war. It is the war whose pressure has coalesced these five democracies, each busy with its own self-contained and isolated life. A common danger and a common experience of suffering forced the realization of what a thoroughgoing partnership would bring in organization for industry and in the attainment of a good life. The war created a highly desirable friction between Great Britain and her colonial democracies, which revealed the present unsatisfactory status and the need of a new order. Out of that friction has come the vision of the new commonwealth.

The British democracy has three times sought to find a group of leaders for the present crisis. When the need swings back acutely to the internal problems of labour adjustment, the present Cabinet will be swiftly displaced if it fails to function in the new demand. The British public has to think in three separate and almost unrelated provinces. It finds itself unable to do this simultaneously, so it takes them up in turn. It expresses that shift of attention by Cabinet changes. It has to think in terms of domestic policy, of imperial policy, and of international policy. We shall probably see a series of Cabinet shifts in the next five years, as each of the three great problems of British policy is taken up. The limelight will flit from Manchester and South Wales to Ireland, and then to Australia, and then to Russia,

and public opinion will demand a very distinct set of faculties, and therefore of leaders, in dealing with each of these various questions.

Since the war began many persons have asked, Can a democracy produce leaders of the same merit as an autocracy? And the answer has often been No. But the question fails to state the problem. War leaders are one requirement, imperial leaders are another, and the creators of domestic policy are a third. Let us state the need in these terms :

1. Can a democracy produce leaders in peace times who can shape legislation and give guidance to the democratic movement? The mass of the people have developed a collective will, which demands a reconstruction of the state, expressed in terms of parliamentary control (manhood suffrage, the predominance of the House of Commons over the House of Lords) ; and a reconstruction of industry and the institution of property, expressed in terms of social legislation, affecting land reform, minimum wage, and control of collective enterprise, such as mines and railways, and further expressed in free experiment outside legal enactment, though later to be incorporated in legislative acts, such as workshop councils. Those leaders of peace Great Britain produced. Her swift adjustments to the demands of modern self-conscious democracy have proved that she is the fertile mother of democratic initiative.

2. Can a democracy produce leaders under the strain of international crisis who can carry through a determined policy demanding organization, efficiency,

applied science, and a spiritual unity? This requirement is distinct from the requirements of a wise domestic policy. The reason is plain. The dealings of a nation with its citizens have reached a level of sanity, intelligence, and ethical decency which the dealings of nation with nation have not reached. Internationally, we are in the jungle. To handle these international relationships of greed and hate, the nation has to employ brute force. It has to turn its farmers into killers. It has to make shells in place of workers' cottages. The near future and the long future will tell us the extent to which Great Britain has met this demand. The crisis is still too appalling for any smooth generalizations on England's success in meeting the vast needs of the present time. Friends of democracy can only work and hope while it is yet night, believing that the dayspring will return. This much can be said: that with an open mind the British people will select their leaders according to their need, and that they are instantly ready to change their representatives when incapacity is proved.

3. Can a democracy solve the new and immense problems of creating a commonwealth out of many nations, many cultures, many differences in economic structure? No answer is yet at hand. Many voices have been heard. The answer of the late Lord Cromer is not quite the same as that of Lord Milner. Lionel Curtis emphasizes one consideration, and General Smuts another. There is already a library of books and documents on how to federalize free nations.

Meanwhile the French Canadian, the Irish Sinn Feiner, the South African Boer are lively members inside the Empire. The United States watches the gradual working out of the federalizing principle with sympathy, because the United States is itself a congeries of many nationalities, and has discovered that the melting-pot of standardization sometimes fails to operate. Great Britain and America alike will need the hard thinking of wise men in creating the commonwealth.

It is not an abrogation of the democratic principle when a people turns to its experts. It is one expression of the democratic principle. For democracy brought in two things when it entered life with the organization of the industrial revolution. It brought in a mass movement and it brought in specialization. The collective will must always turn to experts to organize its desires into action. It will control those experts, but it will never supersede them. It exercises its control in the choice of them, not in itself attempting tasks of which it is ignorant. A democracy in itself can liberate only an impulse. It cannot frame emergency measures by initiative and referendum. It will always be called on from time to time to pass over its power to a handful of specialists and trust them to use its mass momentum in the right direction toward the desired end.

The democratic movement began consciously with the purpose of freeing the human race from poverty. But it has steadily undergone a broadening of purpose under the pressure of its own requirements. It has

found that for self-preservation it must include the release of talent and the creation of spiritual values in its programme. To produce leaders and to enhance the meaning of life are as much within its province as a proper standard of living in terms of hours and wages. It recognizes its need of an aristocracy of talent. The leaders of the democratic movement state this. This aristocracy will include social experts, artists, ethical leaders, teachers, imperial executives, organizers, and specialists in foreign policy. War is only one of the many situations where the democracy, with its distributed responsibility, does not possess in itself the necessary intelligence and unity of policy to master the sudden crisis. The democracy is only fulfilling its own nature in recognizing a diversity of gifts.

But through all the adjustments of the coming years, calling for expert treatment, the principle of democratic control will prevail. In time the democracy will develop its own tradition of policy and service and generate its own leaders. The common people of Great Britain have never spoken. It was, therefore, believed they were dumb. But they were not dumb; they were only inarticulate. The common people of Great Britain have never acted with common purpose to one end. It was, therefore, believed that they were impotent. But they were not impotent; they were only unawakened. Now they are learning to speak and to act.

CHAPTER II

LABOUR

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND

THE opinion has been widespread among social workers in America that the war has crushed liberalism in England. They have formed this opinion because social work has been postponed, trade-union rules have been abrogated, dissenters like Bertrand Russell silenced, Russian revolutionary centres in London suppressed. But it is a characteristic of experts working in details to miss the main currents of tendency. No friend of radical democracy need be worried by the results of the last two years. The blood spilled by the working-classes at the front has been justified by the profound modifications wrought in English consciousness. A nation mobilized and under arms is a rich field for radical ideas. Blood fertilizes the soil for change. Those of the school of Curzon and the "Morning Post," who believed that the good old days of special privilege would be restored by conscription, are doomed to an awakening more thorough than befell the French reactionaries of 1790. For this is not an affair of a few noble heads. It is the remaking of a nation.

England is taking strides toward co-operative social-

ism. For the first time in their history, the English are thinking in terms of a state—"a modern state, in all its complexity, with scientific laws and regulations." This is a view "utterly strange to English thought, steeped as it always had been in empiricism, and only inclined to such piecemeal legislation as a particular grievance or a particular occasion might demand." I am quoting a government investigator. These tendencies were already in operation before the war; but what might have required twenty-five years to bring to a head, the war has accelerated, intensified, and even altered.

It is a misreading of English character to think that anything remotely resembling the state socialism of Germany, the card-indexing of the community for vocational training, the regimenting of the intellectual life into a body of state-controlled professors, will result from the present English revolution. The social change in England is not coming with any such over-emphasized nationalism. The Englishman wants to be let alone for all his personal choices. He wants to disagree with official statements. He will not be coerced even for "his good," as that good is seen by another. Nor will the change come as an indeterminate, spreading internationalism, such as has infected radical thought for half a century. It will be English, inside an English environment.

There are two truths so plain that we wonder it required a hundred years to find them out. It is the war that has finally revealed them to our blind eyes. The first truth is that high wages give high

productiveness. A well-fed, self-respecting, healthy workman can do more work than an under-nourished, servile workman. If the employer wants a good product and plenty of it, he must pay a living wage. The second truth is that workmen must work efficiently if they wish high wages. If they cut down productiveness there is no money to pay them. The war has smoked the workers out. Their sacred secret processes which required hours to work have turned out as simple as building-blocks. It is public knowledge now, the time it takes to do a piece of factory work. For years the worker has been limiting his output. A manufacturer of marine engines states that where thirteen rivets were turned out before the war, seventy are now being made by the same number of workers. The worker is making the same fight here that he made when he broke the first machines. The machines were robbing him of his living, he thought. Instead of that, they have given more men a better living. Of late years the worker has been fighting his own productivity. How is shrinking wealth to give him an expanding wage? Where is the money to come from? As a method in a given emergency, sabotage and limitation of output are effective; but as a nationwide policy they are instruments that cut the hands of the user. The trade-unions surrender their hard-won regulations, and suddenly production leaps up as if it had been released from a dead-weight. They are still insisting on government guarantees that the old restrictions will be handed back to them after the war. It would be flattering to write that it is by

labour that the constructive thinking is being done, but it would be untrue. There is with workers as with management, absence of patient thought, lack of a constructive programme, the muddle of a helpless creature caught unawares in a tidal wave.

It was the making of shells that taught England the new synthesis of capital and labour. Suddenly she was forced to turn out huge quantities of a product in order to save the lives of her people. Under that tragic pressure she had to learn overnight how to get a large product. She began in the manner dear to ruling classes: she started an old-time "personal-morality" campaign of the evangelistic sort, and her most gifted exhorter, Lloyd George, went out to down drink. She then preached thrift to the factory-worker. But she soon dropped that way of getting at it; she stopped lecturing the labouring-man for his bad habits.

And swiftly she found the solution. It is this:

State ownership of some factories; state control of many factories; state oversight of an ever-increasing number of factories; a conscription of abnormal profits for the community; a living wage; decent working conditions; limited hours of labour; no restriction of output; no sabotage; no discrimination by workers against workers, but all to be employed, union and non-union, male and female; efficiency; the use of machinery up to its capacity instead of dribbling a process through a day where a half-day of proper handling would have completed the product.

There are broken planks all along the length of this platform. But every sag has meant decreased output, a longer war, more young men killed in battle. And once England had settled the main question with a measure of honesty, she found that some other things were added unto her. When she paid a living wage to people who had never had it before, and put before them a national ideal instead of a benefit for another class, she found that four million persons joined her national savings fund, thereby breaking an immemorial British habit. She found that her prisons had fewer inmates, that the personal morality of her inhabitants was in the main improved. She found that her school children in factory communities were better nourished than they had been in the memory of the examining physicians. She found that her woman question solved itself. The very suffragette leaders, such as Mrs. Drummond and Mrs. Pankhurst, who had put grey hairs on Lloyd George's head and lines of worry into his face, recruited soldiers, explained the national need to the men miners of the north counties, assisted in organizing masses of "unemployable" women into industrial workers, and were welcomed by Lloyd George and the Government as efficient helpers in unifying the nation. And, far more important than the co-operation of a handful of leaders, the unrest and discontent of large numbers of women became transformed into energy.

There has been an increase of a million women in industries, Government establishments, transport, finance and banking, commerce, professions, hotels

(and theatres, cinemas, public-houses), civil service and local government. Many have transferred their activity from domestic service and parasitic trades into the main channels of industry. The Bond Street milliner has become a Stepney machinist. In munitions alone six hundred thousand women have stepped over from unregulated hours and low wages to sharply defined hours and comparatively high wages. These women, and several hundred thousand others in factory processes, in railway, tram-car, and omnibus work, and in business superintendence, have "tasted blood." By that I mean they have won an increased freedom and independence, however imperfect even yet, and a higher wage. To send them "home" will prove a task larger than the paper resolutions of any men's trade-union to the effect that women workers must give up their jobs.

It is one more of time's ironic revenges that it is the entrance of women upon the scene which has precipitated social questions to solution, where before they were seething in separate, repellent elements. Woman's long campaign for the vote supplied the needed intellectual criticism of plural voting and of suffrage restricted to a property qualification. "Manhood" suffrage will be granted. It is not possible for a nation to deny a vote to men who have been ready to die for that nation. This manhood suffrage will include votes for women, for the women have mobilized with an equal loyalty.

Woman's irritating presence in industry has emphasized the demand for proper working conditions. It

has sharpened the wage controversy, and it has revealed the need of far-reaching measures to deal with the unemployment situation that the nation will face on the day of peace. Women are not going to enter industry. They have already entered it, and a million fresh workers have been added. It is clear that increasing the number of workers does not lessen the problem of a living wage. There is only one answer to the violently acute situation which has been forced by these women, and which will come to a crisis when five million men hang their khaki in the cupboard. The areas of production must be widened not tenderly and with the imperceptible gradualness of a natural process, but swiftly.

(1) The land ¹ must support more people in independence and comfort. Co-operation in produce and marketing must be practised among the peasant tenants. Ireland has blazed the way here.

(2) The state must institute fields of activity at home, helping to establish new industries, such as dye-works.² It must make use of an immense amount of new automatic machinery,³ installed to make shells, and adapted to an expansion of general engineering work and to the creation of new industries. The head of a motor-car company told me that two-thirds of his present machinery has been created since the war. The report of the British Association states, "For the first time in the history of the west of Scot-

¹ See Appendix, "Land."

² See Appendix, "Machinery."

³ See Appendix, "Industry and the State."

land engineering shops had been filled with modern machine tools." This enormous investment cannot be scrapped.

(3) The state must greatly extend its sphere of activities throughout the empire in cattle-raising, in developing raw lands, in producing commodities from the land.¹

These methods will be used to meet the unemployment situation by furnishing new jobs, and to meet the burden of increased taxation by giving an increased income. The larger programme will of course be postponed till its advocates are more numerous and better organized. Such a programme will include :

(1) An extension of transportation facilities, the construction of light railways, a greatly enlarged use of waterways, the building of new and better roads.²

(2) Improved housing.³ The foul slums of great cities and towns, the vile homes of agricultural labourers will have to be razed by as drastic a plan as that by which Haussmann drew his blue pencil down through the jungle of Paris. New dwellings in the place of the "lung blocks" must be built.

(3) Afforestation. If it proves true that there are several million acres in the British Isles that are unfit for intensive agriculture, this area affords an opportunity for forest development, which in eighty years would offer rich returns to the state.

Under such an extension of enterprise there would

¹ See Appendix, " Empire Resources."

² See Appendix, " Light Railways."

³ See Appendix, " Housing."

be plenty of work after the war, and therefore plenty of jobs. The problem is how to obtain the money with which to finance the work. The war has shown how to get the money. The taxation of profits, death duties, and the taxation of incomes have availed, with new areas of production, to give a more widespread, better-distributed prosperity to England than she enjoyed before the war. It is the line of solution that will be enforced after the war.¹ The exact pressure that will enforce it is the demand for a continuation of the present high wages.

This programme is being postponed as long as possible. Its items will be applied unevenly, and parts will go neglected. Committees of Parliament are sure to bring in ingenious little outlines for legislation, which will affect a few thousand workers, while the army will demobilize at the rate of a few thousand a day. But for every failure in boldness and energy, for every lag in execution, the nation will pay in decreased exports, falling wages, the pressure of taxation, and a wrangle between masters and men. The new order of life is still badly delayed at many points. The lot of the agricultural labourer is miserable. The "East Ends" of the industrial cities remain sodden. An immense number of workers are being underpaid, for the rise in wages has reached only a fraction. A ministry of commerce and a ministry of health are needed at once, and in the ministry of labour there should be a permanent department for women's work, conducted by women under-secretaries.

¹ See Appendix, "Compulsory Democracy."

Wages and hours remain the heart of the social movement. The emphasis will not shift from wages and hours. But a new demand has been added to these "old-timers." It is the demand by labour for a voice in the control of its working conditions. Mr. Lloyd George responded to this demand by greatly increasing the scope of welfare work in factories. Through the famous manufacturer and social worker, Seeböhm Rowntree,¹ he put protective agencies at work in munition factories which affect the lives of half a million persons who were not safeguarded to the same extent formerly. This safeguarding is done by welfare secretaries, whose duty it is to study the health, home conditions, and sanitary appliances of women. Grievances of workers are laid before these secretaries. Welfare secretaries are not a new arrival in British industry, but there were few of them in relation to the immense numbers of factories and workers. This movement toward conducting industry in its social relationship from the point of view of the worker is in its beginning. Labour will press on for an increasing recognition of its right to be heard in management in workshop adjustments, the speed of machinery, rest-times, hours of work, details of discipline, and the grading of labour.

As this tide of reform rises higher, there is a back wash. Class education, land monopoly, a state church, persist down to our own day. England has continued in a modified, far less harsh form those special privi-

¹ Mr. Rowntree has lately gone over to the Reconstruction Committee.

leges of a ruling class that in France led to the overthrow of the nobility and the clergy. The industrial revolution of a century ago suddenly altered the texture of feudal English life, just as it would have altered France without the French Revolution. It added a new upper layer to the pressure from overhead on the manual worker in agriculture and industry, at the same time that it gave an ever-increasing population a share in the means of production. But the coming of machinery, creating a new world, was powerless in England to disturb the big land holdings, the church, and restricted education. They have continued to govern the conditions of life. The best defence of the class system which I have recently seen is that given in lectures to the University of Pennsylvania by Geoffrey Butler under the title of "The Tory Tradition." He clearly shows the contribution which has been made by the Tory rejection of a utilitarian standard, their distrust of sectional control, their insistence on the organic conception of the state, their belief in the power of tradition and the ancient processes of government, their emphasis on national duties, and therefore on a far-sighted foreign policy. He says, "Our system of classes represents the effect of selection by the capacity to govern." And again, "Hereditry is no Tory invention, but a scientific fact."

In any analysis of unseemly class preponderance the honest student of English conditions has to qualify the downright statement. Thus the landed gentry have often exercised a personal care for their tenants

and the village community that the modern liberal captain of industry has sometimes neglected to exercise toward his employees. But the land monopoly has prevented England from being self-supporting and from relieving the pressure on industry of an over-crowded labour supply. It has robbed her of a sturdy land-owning peasantry like the French, and has given her in their place a city-bred, under-sized, intellectually feeble, morally infirm lower class.

The intellectuals of the public schools and of Oxford and Cambridge have supplied a poise and dignity to modern life that a mediocre democracy lacks. Their graduates have given honest leadership in the Government. Recently their young men have gone gallantly to a service from which there is no returning. But much of the defence for the rigid, mediæval class system, in so far as it possesses an intellectual basis, has been supplied by public school and university men. There is, however, every reason to believe that the best of them will ally themselves to the democratic movement. The Workers' Educational Association offers promise of the most hopeful alliance in any nation between manual workers and "intellectuals."

The belated Tory Church of England clergy have continued to be an ameliorating influence in their communities. Their sane manner of living, their personal kindness, their patient absorption in the humble lives about them—all these make a contribution we overlook in our easy generalizations on the decayed church. And there are abounding elements inside the established church itself that are as liberal

as any elements in modern life. That church still has wise leaders, like Dean Welldon of Manchester and a dozen others. The sacramental view of life has profound and permanent values for certain persons. But when all has been said, it remains true that the church, with its compromised theology, its indifference to social injustice, its ignorance of where the modern fight for righteousness is being waged, its land-holding, its taxation, its absence of intellectual force in seeking truth, has acted as a deterrent in the emancipation of the masses. A state religion has been a soporific, drugging the labourer to believe that his lot in life was a part of the scheme of things. As an institution the church, and as a body the clergy, have not sought equality for their communities. The National Mission of Repentance and Hope, the most ambitious crusade the church has launched in many years, was swung over into an evangelistic campaign against the personal vices of drink and sexual indulgence, and into an old-fashioned appeal for personal righteousness and the deepening of the religious life. The majority of the bishops remain blind to the demand of the workers for an economic underpinning to their lives. The workers believe that the way to a proper life is by taking a hand in the control of industry, by a living wage, and by fewer hours of work. They are frankly uninterested in the restriction of public-houses and a more diligent attendance in places of worship till they see that their larder and their leisure are guaranteed.¹

¹ See Appendix, " Church Attendance."

These, then, are the forces of reaction tightening themselves for the struggle. The landed gentry, some of the clergy, and some of the public school and university men will die hard in defence of the class system. They will be powerfully supported by the individualistic capitalist, avid for his profits, and by the timid, unintelligent middle class, fearful of its narrow income from rents, stock-holding, and small investment.

But the same quick action that turned out shells by the acre will be enforced by the return of a nation in arms. It is not that they will use the rifle to shoot. It is that their strength has been compacted where their eye can see it, their organization ready-made for them, their service to the nation acknowledged. Soldiers and workers are the same men, inside the small area of an island. At one stroke war won those things for which in peace a portion of the English people seek in vain : proper food, correct conditions for efficiency, a pension for dependants, high honour for service, a common sacrifice, and, embracing all like a climate, a favouring public opinion, a great universal equality. They will demand that the same humanity be let loose into their daily life of the factories. Is the basic work of peace less worthy than trench routine ?

There has been a certain vital force in new countries that England has lacked in recent years. Some of that living element went out to America and the colonies. It founded free institutions, established a wider equality, liberated a play for individual initiative.

It left England greyer and heavier than in its great epochs.

Observers of England have written down this slackening of effort as laziness. But "laziness" and "drink" and "thriftlessness" are the invariable resort of an imperfect analysis. What was the cause of that laziness? I believe that we have the answer in the weakness that sets in when an organism gets out of touch with its environment.¹ All the conditions of modern life were changing rapidly, and England revealed little adaptability in fitting herself to the change. What the war has made clear is that England was losing her stride in the modern world. She was lagging in agriculture, industry, and applied science. To put the matter clearly and frankly, an anæmia had spread over English life in recent generations. Through lack of vocational training, the working-man had lost ambition, and his power of production had lost pace with that of German and American workers. The huddled, sheltered, unproductive lives of middle-class people were often without direction and purpose because they were untrained. The upper class had lost power of constructive leadership in the traditions of an education unrelated to the realities of modern life.

Before the war, England had begun to waken. The social movement was under way. There has been a tendency in "war writing" to exaggerate the transformation by limiting it to the last three years. But, actually, the change had been visible for some

¹ See Appendix, "Who Does the Work."

years. Nevertheless, the war has accelerated the change. It has made the working-man work at full-tilt for the first time in his life. He has been willing to do it, because the product served a national purpose instead of the profit of another person. He has been physically able to do it, because an increased wage gave him better food. He has discovered how to do it, because the pressure of necessity has unlocked brain cells which in ordinary times would have required a term of education to co-ordinate. The war has continued and extended the experiment of turning the middle-class home inside out, and freeing the respectable unemployed into usefulness. It has given new and more active forms of employment to women caught in domestic service and the parasitic trades of "refined" dress-making, millinery, and candy manufacture. Finally, the war has given a career to certain upper-class Englishmen. For the first time in their lives they feel they have found something active to do through noble sacrifice. The sigh of relief that went up at the discovery that life was at last worth living, if only because of its brevity, was echoed in the poetry of officers as it drifted back from the trenches.

The key to the present situation is the release of energy which has taken place in recent years. Male labour has felt it, and has responded with increased production. Women have felt it, and have transferred their activities from low-pressure drudgery and parasitic employments to the main channels of industry. The directors and capitalists have felt it, and have

sanctioned new areas of production, new automatic machinery, and more liberal terms for their workers. The state has felt it, and has taken a direct hand in the encouragement and control of industry. Energy has been let loose in England which in "Victorian days" was lying latent in underpaid, undernourished working men, in individualistic business men, in unimaginative government officials, in extra daughters in the household, and in unattached women of a moderate income and no profession.

To maintain this increased activity after the war will require an enlarged system of state education. Vocational training must be given to the young in place of the present *laissez-faire* policy, which lets children slip out from control, at the age of fourteen and even younger, into "blind-alley" pursuits. England will have to be remodelled or else lose her place among the nations.

If she fails to take action in accelerating industrial democracy, she will see her surviving young men sailing in droves for Canada and Australia. The colonies are far-sighted, and their propaganda in England is continuous, and has greatly increased since the beginning of the war. Show-windows on the Strand and King's Road, and like strategic points of great cities, are filled with the genial products of the soil and the mines,—ears of grain and slags of metal,—and the background a gay painting of an overseas city, with its hospitable harbour. Pleasant voiced and energetic gentlemen inside the roomy, prosperous offices tell you what you can make of your life if you

pull up stakes and come with them to the new lands. If England fails, she will be stripped of men, and will become a feminist nation. But she will not fail. The penalty is too severe.

It would be easy to play the rôle of a prophet here, and ride a radical gallop through the coming England. But I have consistently limited this outline to the tendencies already under way, to the currents already running. I have struck out the minimum of social remodelling, as recognized by middle-of-the-way publicists.¹ I can quote the "Saturday Review" on a minimum wage for agricultural labour, the "Times" on the idea of national syndication, the Government on the "pigsty" in which the farm-labourer has been forced to live, and Mr. Asquith on woman's claim to a vote on the basis of her war work.

To suppose that these changes are going through gracefully is to dream in the daylight. They are coming jerkily, unevenly. Nothing will be granted except as it is forced. I have heard talk by persons in well-to-do homes about the new brotherhood of the trenches. One of the most distinguished English writers said to me :

"Do you think working-men will ever feel bitterly again, now that they have seen their officers leading them and dying for them ?"

It did not occur to her to inquire how gallantry in an infantry charge would prove a substitute for a living wage. There will be brotherhood after the war if the privileged classes pay a living wage ; but

¹ See Appendix, "I see by the Papers."

from what some of their representatives have said to me I gather that brotherhood is to be practised by the workers in ceasing to agitate for the basic conditions of a decent life.

Not much of this emancipation is being made in love. It has largely come by the clever use of force, and what it brings will be like the gains of war for territory—areas soaked with human tears, breeding-places of fresh dissension. The eternal questions will beat in again after the new order is established. Is a living wage the final answer to the homesickness of the human spirit? Does a materialistic conception of life satisfy the longing of the heart? Are the claims of beauty met by uniform rows of neat little dwellings and by sanitary factories? Have we really crossed the great divide and arrived finally in the sunshine? One doubts it. The life of the spirit is not so easily satisfied. But as in the present war of arms political differences are buried, art and poetry forgotten, and all the national will focussed on this one thing to do, so in this greater struggle the vast complexities of life are overlooked for the sake of a working programme of action and a sharp summary. Happiness and morality, beauty and religion, are left to take care of themselves.

It is not from brotherly love that an increased co-operation between the directors and the workers is being established, but because without co-operation the production of wealth is lessened, capital is diminished, and wages are decreased. That co-operation is not secured by telling the labourer to "be good,"

to remember the nation, and to forget his wage. The capitalist of the past has been indifferent to the welfare of his workers. He has had his mind on individual profit, not on national wealth. If he acts in the future as he has done in the past, extracting an immediate high profit at the expense of the worker, and therefore of the national wealth, the control will be taken from him, and will pass over automatically into the hands of the democracy. It rests with the capitalists themselves whether they and their system will survive or whether their function will be taken over by the industrial group and the state. Capital and labour are a permanent institution ; but the capitalist, unlike the labourer, is by no means an indispensable unit in the institution. If the capitalist will handle himself in relation to his employees as the French officer does in relation to his men, he can postpone his extinction indefinitely. If he develops a democracy of spirit and attitude, taking less profits and paying higher wages, exercising leadership by intelligence and sympathy, and permitting labour a voice in working conditions, he will remain in partial control of a diminished realm for the immediate future at least. As fast as he fails he will be ousted.

Discipline and responsibility are the essentials for the new life just beginning, and they rest with equal weight on employer and employee. They are two words which had become unpopular in our recent philosophy of life, because the qualities themselves were out of favour. But the war has revealed their ancient worth under the cake of modernism.

The faults of the English, as I see them, are an almost incorrigible mental torpidness, which is slow to see a new situation and obstinate to move even when seeing it; a deep-rooted belief in the class system; an unconscious arrogance; and a suppression of the emotional life. As the result of these limitations in insight and sympathy, the English race has been backward in the betterment of its own people. It has overworked and underpaid its own sons and daughters till a portion of its population rots in foul slums.

A silent, slow-moving, but determined will, a constancy of purpose, a loyalty to friend and cause, a standard of conduct, often fallen short of, but rather consistently aimed at, are, I think, the saving characteristics of English character. By reason of these virtues,—and they are supreme virtues,—when the English race starts to right a wrong, it goes through with the work to the end. It has now set itself to give justice to its workers. The social movement is more surely on its way in England than in any other country of Europe.

Human history has moved in cycles, and war has often marked the cesura. The French Revolution, the Napoleonic wars, and the invention of machinery altered the face of the world and refashioned its inner life. Men are to-day in the presence of an industrial revolution as vast as that of a century ago. We in America shall be wise if we, like England, practise preparedness not only in the obvious surface requirements of dreadnoughts and citizen armies, but in the

profound modifications of the social structure and consciousness.

“WORKERS’ CONTROL”

Any one who looks forward to a peace on earth following the war of the trenches is going to be present at a surprise-party. The workers are gathering themselves for a mighty effort which will make the French railway strike and the English mine and transport strikes look like an afternoon tea. The issue will be precipitated when the Government and the employers fail to restore the old trade-union rules and regulations. They cannot restore them because the conditions have changed in the last two years. New automatic machinery and the entrance of male and female semi-skilled workers have made it impossible to restore the old system, which was adapted to the old conditions. Let me quote from a careful investigation made by experts :

Many of the men who return from the trenches to the great munition and shipbuilding centres are, within a few weeks of their return, among those who exhibit most actively their discontent with present conditions. Among those who have fought in Flanders or who have been employed in making shells at home, there are many who look forward to a great social upheaval following the war. It is the testimony of responsible observers on the spot that some of our greatest industrial centres are even now in a state of incipient revolt. To a very large number of the men now in the ranks, the fight against Germany is a fight against “Prussianism,” and the spirit of Prussianism represents to them only an extreme example of

that to which they object in the industrial and social institutions of their own country. They regard the present struggle as closely connected with the campaign against capitalist and class-domination at home.

Unfortunately some of the results of the war itself, such as the Munitions Acts and the Compulsion Acts, have intensified this identification of external and internal "enemies." We are not discussing the necessity of these measures. The point is that the working of these Acts and the tribunals created under them has given rise to an amount of deep and widespread resentment which is the more dangerous because it is largely inarticulate. It is particularly dangerous because it tends to discredit in general working class opinion that section of labour which looks to the improvement of industrial conditions by negotiation or by legislative action, and to strengthen the hands of the party which preaches doctrines of wrecking and appropriation.

The war has not put an end to industrial unrest. Every one of the old causes of dispute remains, and others of a more serious nature have been added in the course of the war. The very moderation and unselfishness shown by the responsible leaders of organized labour are looked upon by important sections of their following as a betrayal of the cause and by some employers as a tactical opportunity.

What is the answer? No half-way solution, no artificial "faked" restoration, no "brotherhood of the trenches," no turning of the attention of labour to "higher things" by a national mission, will suffice to meet the imperious demands of five million men who

have felt the rhythm and momentum of victorious organization. There is only one answer which will avail. That answer is democratic control. It can come in either of two ways. It can come by the graceful concession of the employing class. If it does not come in that way, it will come by the overwhelming force exerted by general limitation of output and by widespread strikes. And if these prove slow, then there is the possibility of what a Scotch employer recently declared. He said, "As I look into the future, I see nothing but bloodshed."

There is no need of bloodshed, which is a crude and unsatisfactory way of determining questions as complex as the division of profits, the limits of fatigue, the conditions of production.

Let us consider the principle of democratic control in detail. It is sensible, and industrial warfare is senseless, as senseless as international warfare. What is it exactly that the worker wishes? Shorter hours and higher wages? Yes. Better conditions of working and living? Yes. But all these are servants of a better thing yet—status. Status is standing. It is that position which a person or a class holds in society. The desire for status is the desire for a good life—a life raised above slavery and injustice, and free to develop its creative impulses. No one of intelligence wishes labour to thrust in and muddle matters which it hasn't the executive equipment for handling. At its present stage of development labour cannot organize the market and sell the product. It cannot equip the factory and conduct the operating and

selling conditions. Management in that sense is beyond its powers. Education, discipline, experience, the creation of a specialized kind of brain power—all are necessary to organize industry and conduct its multiple processes.

But what labour can manage and possesses the right to manage, but has not received the permission to manage, are the conditions of its own life—its working life and its leisure life. The installation of new processes, the introduction of new machinery, the injection of new workers—all these alterations of working conditions have been imposed upon the workers, as one puts a new harness on a horse, or shifts him from the plough to the tread-mill. The workers have built up their own system of protective devices to meet these impositions of the oligarchy in control of them. They have limited the output by "going gently" with the work. They have limited the number of apprentices. They have practised sabotage and called strikes. They had no other weapons. The result of these protective devices has been to lessen the volume of production, to give capital a smaller return on its investment, and to cut down wages. The policy has been bad for employer and employee.

It is not altogether the control which capital and management exercise over the mechanism of production which creates industrial unrest. It is in part the control over labour. Absence of knowledge is the cause of some of the misunderstanding. The workers understand nothing of overhead charges, depreciation of plant, the risks of capital. They know nothing

of the policy connected with buying and selling. The employers know nothing of the effect of a new process on the nervous system of the worker. They know nothing of the fatigue from overwork or monotony. They make no study of a standard of living. They go blindly ahead, as if men and machinery alike were tools to be manipulated. That an aim of industry should be a good life for the worker is an idea which would sound strangely in their ears.

What is needed between employer and worker is a pooling of knowledge, a frank exchange of the point of view, and a compromise in management. The way out is through democratic control over the conditions of work. The worker must be consulted when new machinery is installed. The effect of it must be studied in relation to monotony, fatigue, and danger. The profits from its introduction must be equitably divided between the employer and the worker. The consultation must not be a form of words. It must be a consultation where the voice of the worker is of equal authority with that of the executive management. The worker must be in a position to control the conditions of his putting forth of labour power. The new conditions, created by the new machine with its special processes, must be such that the balance of justice, established under the old conditions, is not disturbed by the alteration. The belief that every change, such as "scientific management," instituted by the employer, has enabled him to pick up slack and take a tighter cinch-grip on labour, has led labour to resist labour-saving devices and modern methods

of speeding-up. The employer has been partly defeated whenever he has played a "lone hand." And labour, in defeating him, has lessened the volume of production from which higher wages are derived.¹

What is the way out? Surely it is this: instal the new machinery, establish scientific management, but explain the process, adjust the wage-scale,² debate the problems of fatigue, monotony, and danger, safe-

¹ Consider the analysis Sir Hugh Bell has recently made of his own costs, as given in "The Round Table" for September, 1916.

"His firm makes steel, the raw materials for which are produced from his own coal and iron mines and limestone quarries. In every ton of steel made, 70 to 75 per cent. of the cost goes as the wages of labour. There remains 25 to 30 per cent. for all other outgoings, including profit. The turnover on a steel business in this country about equals the capital invested. If his profit amounts to 10 per cent., of which 3 per cent. at least must go back into the business to maintain the works, he thinks himself lucky, and the 7 per cent. left must cover interest on his capital as well as the profits for his enterprise and risk. The remaining 15 to 20 per cent. goes to cover rates and taxes, railway freights and so forth, part of which again goes to labour.

"Out of what fund," as Sir Hugh Bell asks, "is he to pay a 10 per cent. increase in wages?" If he paid 10 per cent. more, he would have no profit at all and could not continue the business. The increase in wages, then, can only come from within, by greater efficiency in management or greater production per man. There are, no doubt, many businesses which have some monopoly value, where capital secures a greater return; there are others where the return is less and the business is decaying. But except when abnormal conditions arise, as with shipping now, or when a monopoly or a patent exists, the picture given by Sir Hugh Bell is more or less applicable to industry in general.

No paper resolution, no legislation, and no economic theory can alter the facts of the industrial situation, but an adjustment and a gain can be made by a new release of productive energy on the part of the management and the men, by consultation between labour and capital, and by hard intellectual effort put on each detail of both the industrial process and the industrial relationship.

² See Appendix, "Auditing Wages and Profits."

guard the standard of living, study the new conditions, and work out an agreement between employer and workers.

Already there is a *rapprochement* between the larger groups. In the crisis of 1915, Mr. Tennant summoned the labour leaders to organize the forces of labour. The employers and the Government were helpless unless aided by the workers themselves. On that day, February 8, 1915, the principle of democratic control in industry was established in the modern state, never to be receded from. This system of joint committees had indeed long existed in the leading trades, where employers and union leaders met to settle disputes. But the white flag of truce was over the conference, while, outside, the battle raged. But Mr. Tennant by his bold measure raised the joint committee to the level of continuous mediation and consultation. These joint boards will be the method by which the Government, the employer, and the worker will discuss the breakdown during war-time of the trade-union rules, and the substitute to be given in place of an impossible restoration. The joint board is part of the machinery for reconstruction. The acceptance of it is an acceptance of the principle of democratic control.

That is the centralized and "parliamentary" side of the matter. But it deals with only half the problem. The other half is local government in the individual factory. No system of centralization can ever so extend itself as to deal adequately with the delicate various human material in the single factory. And

for this a solution has been struck out. It is that of workshop councils, where the men sit in equal power with the management.¹ It has been tried. It has worked excellently. There is one factory where no decision in several years has been appealed from. Disputes have died away. We shall hear much of "workshop councils" in the next five years. The experiment offers the one sane, peaceable way out of a struggle that, "unnegotiated," will throw industry into chaos.

Let us consider in detail what the workshop council will do. It will deal with the admission of unskilled workers into the factory, with piecework prices, shop discipline, suspension and dismissal, welfare, organization, and production, "time" rules, consideration of complaints, methods of increasing efficiency, discussion of hours of work, and the necessity of periods of overtime, supervision of eating-halls, organization of recreation. The council will represent a department, and will send one representative for every fifty workers, for instance. Thus a department with 250 workmen will send five representatives. Sitting with the council in equal numbers will be the manager of the department and his assistants. For a large factory the departmental councils will meet and elect a "works council"—twenty-five workers and twenty-five managers and assistants,—who will consider matters touching the works as a whole. On questions such as fixing day wages and the level that governs piece wages, the employer will continue to deal direct with

¹ See Appendix, "The Tie Vote."

the trade-unions, but the piece rates themselves will be arranged by the workshop councils.

This is all experimental and tentative. It may break down under bitterness or trickery. It may be manipulated by clever men. Chesterton, who is a hearty mediævalist, desiring general peasant proprietorship, calls the scheme of "a certain proletarian representation in the employer's council" "the man-trap of the management." He says that "the first few labour representatives filtered cautiously into the 'management' will be beaten at the game. That is why they will be allowed to play at it."

Perhaps, but the idea is in line with democratic principle. It is being worked at by the best minds in England, and it offers the one peaceable way out of a strife that grows more intense every month.

The situation is this: labour is going to demand higher wages. To obtain them, labour must produce more goods, and the employer must improve his methods, instal new machinery, and consult the worker. Some employers will meet the situation with superlatively good management—a management that will welcome the worker to a share in control, and will increase production and wages without financial loss. Some employers will make decreased profits, some will go to the wall, and some will fight the new conditions. If wisdom prevails on both sides, a new constitution of industry will be achieved.

Workshop councils of the employees have already been formed in the one hundred national munition factories. They are rapidly being formed in the

4,700 controlled establishments. Martin Hall, of the Ministry of Munitions, who has been instrumental in forming these councils, tells me they are working with a minimum of friction. Before they are set up, the employer dreads them as an interference with his management, and the worker regards them as a "welfare device" to extract higher production without increase of wages. But the council, once established, operates to lessen suspicion and to better conditions. A new constitution is thus being written for labour, a constitution that gives representation in the control of working conditions.

The head of a large manufactory has sent me the details of his council as now in operation in the "Almond Paste Department." His business is not the best field for studying workers' control, because the labour is largely female, because the industry is not nationally organized like the building and engineering trades, and because the experiment is only in its beginning. But with a new application of a principle, we have to take it where we find it, and push on with the experiment. The departments of the factory have well defined sections, so each section has a sub or sectional council. The number of delegates for each sectional council is fixed on the basis of one delegate for every twelve workers (of whatever age) or part of twelve exceeding six, employed in the section. Sitting with these at the meetings of each sectional council, and having equal powers with them, are the manager of the department with the head and sub-overlookers, monitors or chargemen of the

particular section. Should these, however (including the manager) exceed in number the workers' delegates, the members of the council, representing the administration, consist of the manager and head overlookers, together with as many of the sub-overlookers, chargemen and monitors (elected by ballot amongst themselves) as are required to make up a number equal to that of the workers' delegates. The manager of the department is *ex-officio* chairman of the sectional councils. He does not have a casting vote. In case of a drawn vote the matter is submitted to the director controlling the department.

In addition, there is one delegate appointed by each union concerned (for the men's sectional councils, from the men's union, and for the women's sectional councils from the women's union), who shall be allowed to speak, but shall have no vote. Such delegates shall be deemed to hold a watching brief for the union, but shall be in the employment of the firm and working in the department, and preferably, though not necessarily, in the section.

The departmental council is a distinct body from the sectional councils, and consists of one member for every fifty workers (or part of fifty exceeding twenty-five), with an equal number of the administrative staff, namely, manager, head overlookers, sub-overlookers, monitors and chargemen. Where these exceed the workers, the members representing the administration consist of the manager and head overlookers, together with as many of the sub-overlookers, chargemen, and monitors (elected by ballot amongst themselves), as are

required to make up a number equal to that of the workers' delegates.

At the meetings of the departmental councils there will also be one delegate appointed by the union representing the men and one by the union representing the women, who shall be allowed to speak, but shall have no votes. Such delegates shall be deemed to hold a watching brief for the union, but shall be in the employment of the firm and working in the department.

Further, the workers will be entitled to have the attendance of a permanent official of their union, not necessarily in the employment of the firm, during the discussion of any matter on which they consider that they should have skilled assistance and advice. Any such official attending a departmental council meeting shall withdraw as soon as the matter is disposed of upon which his or her advice has been required.

Nothing that takes place at a sectional or departmental council shall prejudice the trade union in raising any question in the ordinary way. Questions of general principle such as the working week, wage standards and general wage rules, shall not be within the jurisdiction of the councils.

All male employees over 21 years of age and all female employees over 16, who have been employed by the firm for six months (whether on the regular staff or not), will be eligible to vote for delegates to both the sectional or departmental councils, and to become members of such councils. Delegates will be elected to serve for one year. They will be eligible for re-election so long as they remain in the employ-

ment of the company. No deduction will be made from the wages of day-workers for the time occupied as delegates in attending the council meetings, and pieceworkers will receive an average wage for the time so occupied.

Based on this constitution, the sectional and departmental councils in the Almond Paste Department work out as follows :—

SECTIONAL.

There are six Sectional Councils as under :—

WOMEN. (1) Bottoms and Centres.

(2) Pipers and Coverers.

(3) Makers.

(4) Packers and Labellers.

MEN. (5) Slab, Machine and Boiling (4th floor).

(6) Crystallizing and Piping (5th floor),
Cage and Carting (3rd floor).

The number of delegates for each of these councils work out thus :—

(1) BOTTOMS AND CENTRES.					<i>No. of Delegates.</i>
Bottoms—Room 1	...	...	...	...	2
Bottoms—Room 2	...	...	...	...	2
Centres—Room 1	...	...	...	...	3
Centres—Room 2	...	...	...	...	1
Total					8
(2) PIPERS AND COVERERS.					
Room 1	...	...	...	...	11
Room 2	...	...	...	...	5
Total					16
(3) MAKERS					6

(4) PACKERS AND LABELLERS.					<i>No. of delegates.</i>
Packers ...	...	...	...	...	9
Labellers ...	...	...	...	...	2
Total ...					11
(5) SLAB, MACHINE AND BOILING (4th floor)					5
(6) CRYSTALLIZING AND PIPING (5th floor) ...					6
CAGE AND CARTING (3rd floor) ...					1
Total ...					7

The number of delegates to the departmental council is shown below :—

BOTTOMS AND CENTRES.					<i>No. of Delegates.</i>
Bottoms—Rooms 1 and 2 ...					1
Centres—Rooms 1 and 2 ...					1
PIPERS AND COVERERS.					
Room 1 ...					3
Room 2 ...					1
MAKERS ...					2
PACKERS AND LABELLERS ...					2
SLAB, MACHINE AND BOILING (4th floor)					1
CRYSTALLIZING AND PIPING (5th floor), and CAGE AND CARTING (3rd floor) ...					1
Total ...					12

What are the matters dealt with by these works' councils ?

- (1) The criticism of any Piece Wages not thought to be fair or adequate, and the consideration or suggestions for adjustment.
- (2) The consideration of conditions and hours of work in the Department.
- (3) The consideration of departmental organization and production.
- (4) Rules and discipline.

The Engineering Trades are perfecting a similar system of workers' control. F. S. Button, of the Executive Council of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, has sent me the outline.

SHOP COMMITTEES

The committee comprise representatives from the management and the workpeople in equal numbers. The management choose their own representatives. The workpeople elect by ballot their representatives. Care should be taken that the trade unions shall be represented. Each side appoints its own chairman and secretary. Each side submits its agenda to the other for discussion at joint meetings which should be held weekly during workshop hours, to deal with :—

1. Improved methods of manufacture, tools, jigs, gauges, and to make suggestions thereon ; also new methods of production.
2. Class of labour to be used on new types or reconstructed machines.
- (3) Criticism and adjustment in existing piecework prices.
- (4) Co-operation with the management in supervision.
- (5) Shop troubles and grievances.
- (6) Suspensions and dismissals consequent upon slackness in trade.
- (7) Shop rules—time-keeping, meal hours, cleaning time, clock allowances, changes in starting time.
- (8) Suggestions to change the method of remuneration from day work to piecework or a bonus system, or *vice versa*.
- (9) The problem of the disabled soldier.
- (10) Matters relating to welfare.
- (11) Demarcation between trades with the free sanction of the unions concerned.
- (12) Advise generally on labour and workshop conditions.

The Committee must not interfere with recognized trade union practices, nor deal with matters covered by agreements, except with approval of the parties concerned.

Where it is necessary owing to the complex organization of the works to set up more than one shop committee, a

CENTRAL WORKS COUNCIL

shall be formed from the shop committee.

The basis of representation shall in each case be the same. The board of directors shall appoint the chairman for its side, the trade union shall choose a representative workman as chairman for the side of the workpeople. The council shall sit during factory hours to deal with :—

1. Reports from shop committees.
2. Refer back unadopted portions of report to shop committee concerned.
3. Decide matters from such reports which affect the factory as a whole as distinct from the shop.
4. Generally to assist the management in matters relating to production and organization.
5. To initiate reforms arising out of new legislation affecting factories and workshops.
6. Assist after the war period in the resumption of existing laws.
7. Consider matters referred to them by the board of directors or the workpeople's side of the workshop committees.
8. To appoint a representative from each side of the council to sit with the board of directors when reports from the council are being considered.

No workshop committee or works council shall have any power to impose any restriction on the employers or workpeople either with regard to lock-outs or strikes, or to institute any system of profit-sharing or co-partnership.

The council must not interfere with recognized trade union practices, nor deal with matters covered by agreements except with approval of the parties concerned.

LOCAL JOINT COMMITTEES

The members shall consist of an equal number of employers and workpeople appointed by the employers' associations and by the trade union organizations in the district.

Each side shall appoint a chairman and secretary. At local conferences each chairman shall preside over his own side. Each side shall be entitled to hold a preliminary meeting separately to consider and prepare its agenda, and to discuss its policy on questions to be submitted to the local conferences.

The Committee shall meet at least fortnightly and the following matters should be within its competence :—

1. References from each side of works council within its area.
2. Codification, unification, and amendment of working rules :—
 - (a) Holidays.
 - (b) Sunday labour.
 - (c) Overtime.
 - (d) Shift systems.
 - (e) Demarcation between classes of labour.
3. Co-ordination of local workshop practice.
4. General district matters relating to welfare work.
5. Discuss by mutual consent and reference, matters covered by existing agreements.
6. Discuss relations between both sides not covered by existing agreements.

In the period succeeding the war the committee should also be encouraged to settle by agreement :—

1. Questions arising out of the restoration of trade union conditions, including questions of priority of employment and the restoration of trade union rules and customs.
2. Problems of the employment of disabled soldiers and sailors.
3. Questions relating to demobilization and the discharge and re-employment of emergency workers.

The Committee shall take no action that contravenes any agreement between employers and the trade unions, whether such agreement be local or national in character.

CENTRAL CONCILIATION BOARD

Such boards shall be set up in each industry, and shall be representative of the central executive of employers and the trade union or unions concerned.

The representation shall be equal in numbers, each side having the right to appoint a chairman and secretary.

Each side shall be entitled to hold a preliminary meeting to consider and discuss its policy on the agenda.

The matters competent for discussion shall be confined to

1. Appeals from the local joint committees; appeals may be made by each side of the local joint committees. Representatives from the local joint committees shall attend in a consultative capacity, but shall not sit in session or take official part in the proceedings.
2. Discuss relations between employers and workpeople not covered by existing agreements; no new agreements to be arranged without the full concurrence of all parties concerned.
3. Act as a permanent advisory board to the Government on all questions affecting the industry, and to be empowered to suggest alterations, modifications, and additions to existing laws, or fresh enactments required.
4. Such proposed new legislation or amendments to existing laws to be submitted to the Department of State concerned.
5. In the event of such Department of State refusing to accept in whole or part such proposals, the central conciliation board should have the right to appeal to the Cabinet and to state its reasons for tabling its proposals.
6. The Cabinet shall not have the absolute right to veto without an appeal, and vote in the House of Commons, on the question raised.

BENEFITS RESULTING TO INDUSTRY

1. Harmony in the factory, workshop, or mine.
2. Assurance of industrial peace.
3. Would give the worker a real chance to achieve responsibility.
4. Guarantee of continuity of labour.
5. Tend to abolish the spirit of antagonism and distrust.
6. Greater productivity in the workshop.
7. Would provide the missing link in Industry—Co-operation.
8. Bring about a real community of interest between employers and workpeople, and secure co-ordination of the whole factory system so far as the workshop is concerned.

The Executive Committee of the National Union of Railwaymen have drawn up their demand. "At each large shop centre there shall be formed a local shops committee. There shall be a central committee for each railway. There shall be established on each railway a conciliation board." The following is an example of the method of constituting the board :—

<i>Groups of grades.</i>	<i>No. of men.</i>	<i>No. of repre- sentatives.</i>
(a) Engine drivers, firemen, cleaners, electric motor- men	7,500	4
(b) Shed men, electric light men, hydraulic men, &c.	1,900	1
(c) Carriage and wagon exam- iners, washers, &c. ...	1,200	1
(d) Signalmen, &c.	3,100	2
(e) Guards, shunters, &c. ...	4,300	2
(f) General porters, parcels staff, &c.	3,500	2
(g) Goods shed and yard staff	4,500	2

<i>Groups of grades.</i>				<i>No. of men.</i>	<i>No. of represen- tatives.</i>
(h)	Cartage staff	...	...	3,700	2
(i)	Platelayers	...	...	4,600	2
(j)	Ballast men, &c.	...	...	2,000	1
(k)	Signal and telegraph men, &c.	...	...	500	1

A Builders' National Industrial Parliament has been advocated by the National Associated Building Trades Council, representing the national executives of the principal trade unions in the industry. The constitution calls for works committees, representing Management and Labour in particular shops, for joint district boards, and for a national parliament, where sit twenty members appointed by the National Federation of Building Trades Employers of Great Britain and Ireland, and twenty members appointed by the National Associated Building Trades Council.

So enters the principle of self-government in industry. This is totally different from Compulsory Arbitration, though often confused with it. Arbitration deals with matters that have reached the boiling point. A Joint Board deals with process and relationship before friction has developed, and thus keeps clear of that region in men's minds where emotion is kindled, and where matters of fact are heated into matters of principle. Once a question of fact has become a "matter of principle" it is always difficult and often impossible for arbitration boards to deal with it. This sharp distinction must be realized, because on its recognition hinges the change in the status of the

worker. By Government and private action he is now being admitted to a place in deciding on the next step, before the next step is taken. Many employers wish a scheme of compulsory arbitration, with penal clauses against striking. The Trade Unions will not consent, because they do not care for industrial harmony by compulsion. A number of employers will offer co-partnerships and profit-sharing. The Trade Unions will not consent. Talk of national efficiency, and world markets alone will not win the Trade Unions. To meet their opposition, a measure of control must be granted to them. So Joint Standing Councils of employers and employed have already been formed, and will continue to be formed, to secure increased productivity in industry and a better status for labour. Since October of 1915, the Lancashire and Cheshire Coal Association (of employers) and the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation (of workers) have had an agreement. The coal owners undertake that no general notice to terminate contracts shall be given at any colliery. The miners undertake that no general strike or cessation of work shall take place. Any general dispute is referred to the Conciliation Board. They have always come to agreement without calling in the independent chairman. Any local dispute is referred to the Joint District Board, made up of owners' and workers' representatives.

Self-government will not offer grave difficulties in the twelve or fifteen highly organized trades, where organized co-operation is understood. It will come much more slowly in the unskilled occupations. A

partial application of this principle of workers' control has long been made. Thus coal-miners possess the right to have the employers' calculations checked by the men's official. The men, by a decision of the majority of those employed in any pit, have, at the expense of the whole pit, a checkweigher with full power to keep an accurate and independent record of each man's work. He is the representative of the men at the pit bank to check the weight to be paid for. Another instance is the "chapel" of the compositors, where the "clicker," who hands out copy to compositors, is appointed and frequently paid by the "chapel," the ancient organization of the workmen.

But, almost at one stroke, this principle of self-government has been greatly extended. It is all part of the general movement toward the organized State. The employers will form great combines. The workers will continue to develop the strength of trade unions, and will exercise that strength in the control of their working conditions. In the coming years, workers' control will be the most discussed item in England's reconstruction. Because it is in line with democratic tendency, the movement will soon spread to other countries. It is time that statesmen, social experts, writers, and industrial leaders begin to study it. They will be forced to accept it.

DEMOCRATIC CONTROL

In this age, when psychology is taking over new realms of fact every year, it is increasingly difficult to use a phrase about society which is accurate in

describing the instinctive life of forty-five million persons. Yet one must have a vocabulary in order to talk. The phrase "democratic control" appears throughout this book. By the principle of democratic control I mean the application to the institutions of property and the state of the sum of the desires and impulses of the persons composing the modern nation-state. Those desires and impulses are often thought about and definitely expressed in a reasoned programme of action, as in the gradually developing "will to war" of the British people. Often they are held only in the sub-conscious mind, exploding through from time to time in blind action. But the desires and impulses of the mass people have to-day a power in shaping legislation, controlling administration, adapting environment, and establishing new social relationships, which, through lack of organization, they did not possess in earlier periods. Suppression, thwarting, submission are not acceptable to the people of a modern nation, and they have determined to live a more creative life.

"Democratic control" is a convenient phrase for describing what is taking place in society, which we express concretely by using the terms "labour movement," "woman movement," "welfare work," "British commonwealth," "rights of little nations." An increasing number of people are seeing what they want and are getting it. An increasing number of women are desiring a living wage and the vote, and they are organizing their thought and will to obtain them. An increasing number of manual workers are

wishing to control the conditions of their working life, and they are acting together in order to win that status. The dominions are growing restive under an imperial policy conducted by England alone, and they are preparing to take a hand in the shaping of that policy. These are instances of democratic control—the application to government and contract of the sum of the desires and impulses of millions of persons.

Our modern social movement, which is seeking to achieve the organized state under democratic control, operates through private ownership and individualism (property), co-operation, state control (socialism), and occupational association (syndicalism).¹ The socialistic state has greatly extended its function in the present war. Non-local association, or syndicalism, is increasing its strength through workshop councils, joint boards, and the various organizations of common occupation, trade-unions, "industrial workers," guilds. Co-operation is powerful in Ireland, and co-operation of consumers has had a long and successful history in England. Property—the idea of the "small owner," the "peasant proprietor," one's right to one's "very own," is still intrenched. Any dogmatism on the claims of one of these against the others must to-day be rejected as not fitting the facts. Any prophecy as to which will contribute most decisively to the future organization of society is gratuitous. Each overlaps upon the others, but all are expressions of the impulse toward freedom, and the social movement is the resultant.

¹ See Appendix on "Co-operation, Socialism, Syndicalism."

Particular tendencies in the social movement cannot be exclusively identified with particular psychological dispositions. Dr. Graham Wallas writes to me :

The extension of democratic control is of course dependent on knowledge, or imagination, as well as impulse. More exactly, impulse in the modern world has to be stimulated rather by our ideas of what we cannot see or hear than by our direct sensations. The Railway Men's Union is growing stronger because individual railwaymen are getting a more definite conception of the capital- and state-machine instead of a vague acquiescence in a social order felt to be irresistible (or, rather, not felt to be resistible) ; because they have a conception of improving their position neither by individual industry nor by state action, but by syndical action ; because they have learnt by experience that improvement can be brought about by syndical action.

There is not half enough concentrated thinking being done. The Labour party in its latest conference displayed as much hot feeling over infinitesimal details as the protagonists in an Irish election, and it dissolved without any large programme. The Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform " approved " of the principle of woman suffrage, but failed to include a measure to obtain it in the resolutions. No synthetic plan of reconstruction is anywhere in sight. What will happen is that the pressure of necessity will force reforms, bill by bill, detail by detail. This is a costly way. It means that each group in the community will fight like a lone wolf for its bone. It is possible that the engineering trades, for instance, which will come

out on top during the first years of peace, will leave women and unskilled men to fight their own battles, failing to see that a standard of living and high production are principles established only by combined effort.

Each class division in the community is sulking in its corner and hugging half a dozen pet fallacies. The employer still believes that the aim of industry is a 'product rather than human welfare. He still believes in *laissez-faire*, "immutable laws of supply and demand," a servile wage class. The worker still regards "economic determinism" as governing the multitudinous currents of human history. He still believes that there is only a certain fixed amount of work and money to be ladled out, a pool unfed by expanding production. He still believes in limiting the number of workers and circumscribing the areas and methods of production. He still distrusts the intellect as an instrument for establishing justice.

But the principle of democratic control forces its own way irresistibly through the storm of words and conflicting purposes. If only one man in England apprehended it, it would have to prevail, for it leads out of chaos. It abolishes ignorance and poverty. It releases the good-will which lies hidden and obstructed in our nature. It promises equality, and perhaps some day will bring in beauty to a troubled and unlovely world.

THE PIONEERS

England is becoming an industrial democracy, but the talk is all of speeding up production and

making a better machine of the worker. The solutions of reconstruction necessitate a consideration of new automatic machines and subdivisions of repetitive processes. There is talk of a still hotter war of competition than in the old dreary factory days. Many of these discussions of the British Association and "The Round Table" and the Fabians and the government reports lean in the direction of Americanizing and Germanizing England. When you have made a good workman in that sense, you haven't made a good man at all. You have made a sharpened tool of production or a narrow, concentrated huckster. I feel in all this programme something alien to the English nature. Half the fine virtues of a liberal life lie outside such competitive industrial requirements.

Once the question of "wages and hours" is settled, and that is only a detail of management which will be settled, we reach the heart of the problem. Can the curse be removed from machinery? Can joy be put into work? What of the jobs that are monotonous? Will they lessen in number?

The instant that joy enters into work the problems of overtime and fatigue disappear. Elasticity of spirit gives a swift recovery. Freedom to choose one's work, the right to arrange one's working conditions, skill in doing the task, pride in the product—these are the elements that result in "joy in work," are they not? What promise does the future give us that this quality of joy will enter into the work of the masses? An eight-hour day and a minimum wage of forty shillings a week do not help us here at all. Will the

increasing control of working conditions by the workers themselves remove this curse of monotony, the grind of the machines on the human spirit? Will the fact of control alter the effect of the work, so that automatically it will pass from a condition of slavery to a condition of freedom? Will the worker, in exercising his will on the terms and conditions of his employment, find a full release for his powers, with the resulting sense of self-expression and its accompaniment of joy?

Or will the increasing control of working conditions by the workers result in a fundamental remodelling of the nature of the work itself? If so, in what forms will that change show itself? For instance, some of the happiest communities of the past were surely settled agricultural communities. Will the workers in part return to the land, rendered more fertile by modern methods of intensive agriculture? Will there be an era of noble building like that of the twelfth century? Will the modern democracy find it worth while to create beauty?

Then there remains the use of leisure. Are we to learn an art of living? Will creative activities be honoured? Nothing is more striking in the last hundred years than the fact that the poet and the saint "do not count." They have lost control over the channels of power. The artist in any of the great forms has little influence to-day. It is easy to reply, "Let the great artist come, and we will listen"; but to produce great persons, the heart of the people must be turned that way. We are not quiet enough

or responsive enough to form and nourish such growths. Not only are the masters of modern industry materialistic, but the workers are materialistic. The trade-union programme, the socialist platform, the reforms of the social experts—all these centre about matters of physical well-being and industrial efficiency. What has all this to do with outlook on life, the knowledge of true values, an understanding of the meaning and end of existence? Outlook on life is determined by the use of leisure—by the pictures one sees, the music one hears, the books one reads, the talk one shares, the games one plays. The only education an adult receives, apart from that of the working-day, with its repetitive processes for most employees, is in the recreation of his leisure hours. School ends for most of the human race at fourteen years of age. The lives of modern workers are dark with drudgery for the working shift and spattered with cheap surface sensation in the hours of release. Fatigue and excitement march together through our city streets.

These are the two great questions of our time: Can the nature of work be ennobled? Can spiritual values be restored to modern life? For fifteen years these questions of what use shall be made of life under a true industrial democracy have seemed to me the most important, the least discussed questions of our day. Now that industrial democracy is arriving in England, I have put these questions to the leaders of public opinion. I have talked with Lloyd George, experts of the Home Office, of the work councils, with John Burns, Seeböhm Rowntree, Snowden, Button,

MacDonald, Mallon, every type of mind in the industrial struggle. No one person is responsible for the conclusions which I give, but they seem to me a just summary of the best English opinion.

Will industry slide over into an old-fashioned balance between agriculture and factory labour? Can the curse be removed from machinery, so that the worker will find in his day's work some of the same lift and satisfaction which Gilbert K. Chesterton finds in writing books, who told me, "I have fun in writing my books?" These questions have been wrestled with since machinery came in. Hate of the machine was voiced by Ruskin and Morris. The hope of a new and simpler civilization has been stated by Edward Carpenter.

The answer is clear. The present tendencies of all the leading nations are altogether in this one direction of more productive power through machinery driven by skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers. Whether there is not a wholly different sort of life possible, with a simpler organization and richer values; whether the old England of hardy seamen and quiet farmers and yeomen was not a more admirable place than the modern city, is to pose an academic question in the face of an obvious overwhelming tendency. All the nations are becoming Americanized and Germanized. The result is that a cheap, hasty product in unlimited quantity, a race for new markets, hustling and advertising are in command of modern life. All that is fragrant and choice and spacious in the older England is being caught into the whirl of these wheels. This

tendency is summed up by two words :— some call it progress, and some call it civilization. It is the judgment of experienced men that the mass of the people will never flock back to agriculture in an industrial country. England will not become more like Russia. On the contrary, Russia will become more like England. The machine is in permanent control of industrial life. New automatic appliances will be created ; new subdivisions of process will be devised.

To offset this dead uniformity, there is the constant demand for new goods. No sooner has the manufacture of one article become standardized than the demand for something quite new arises. It is only after this has been manufactured for a considerable time on a large scale that its manufacture becomes standardized. Meanwhile there is much skilled work in connection with it. But the percentage of highly skilled men who make the tools, instal them, and direct this new process is small. There remains the vast and ever-increasing mass of semi-skilled workers who perform the endlessly repeated processes. The highly skilled man finds a measure of satisfaction in the exercise of his craft. A certain few machines have a delicacy of touch, and turn out a beautiful product, so that those who tend them receive a pleasure in superintending the operation. Seebohm Rowntree told me of a machine in his York factory which lays down three colours at one time on shiny paper, and does it with a finger manipulation which seems semi-human. The men in charge of this process thoroughly enjoy their silent partner. Work for them is

not monotonous. But these workers of skill or happy processes are few in number compared with the millions in industry. For the great majority of workers there is little joy in their tasks or small pride in the products. The worker does not look on the *Mauretania* and say to himself, "I built her," because he tooled the rivets which went into the engines, though that is exactly the thing which the workman did say eight centuries ago when he chiselled his masonic mark on the grey stone of the cathedral. To-day he seeks for an escape from the monotony of a weary process in other things than in the work itself. He regards machine labour as a drudgery. The series of motions is beginning to become standardized. Experts go through factories distributing cards that analyze the motions required to convert raw material into commodities. The worker is shown how to economize effort, how to make fewer strokes, and how to shorten the stroke, how to lessen the time of production from four hours to two hours and thirty-three minutes. This drift toward organization and mechanical efficiency will never be checked. It will gather momentum. The worker himself is often in favour of the automatic labour-saving machine if his standard of living is maintained and raised, as against the machine that calls for an exercise of skill. He prefers to save his vitality, his mental reserve forces, for his life outside the factory, for the creation of social values in his neighbourhood and the furtherance of the causes that interest him.

There is a clever and aggressive school of industrialists in England who will try to speed up industry

without winning the co-operation of the worker. They will seek to instal a scientific piece rate based on time study of factory operations, standardization of equipment, motion study of the actions of the worker in performing a piece of work, instruction-cards governing every bodily movement of every worker, and a set of "speeders-up"—speed boss, repair boss, shop disciplinarian. This Americanizing of industry does not look genial to the British workman. He will not accept it if it precedes the installation of work councils; that is, boards of control, in which he is represented. He will insist on his share in workshop control. He will obtain it. Then industrial organization will proceed along the inevitable lines of efficiency and scientific management. The further this tendency goes, the wider becomes the separation between the handful of skilled workers who shape the tools and set them up and the mass of unskilled workers directed by cards, routing, and scheduling.

There will be no return to a peaceful peasant folk. The dreams of Ruskin and William Morris must be laid aside. The mechanical processes of industry cannot be humanized; they can only be mitigated. The relations between employer and employed can be humanized; the Welfare Department of the Government is humanizing them. Individual employers have long struggled to humanize them; but this co-operation, this kindlier atmosphere, is itself only a mitigation of the conditions of work, and cannot alter the nature of the work. Not in the work itself,

but in the creation of values outside the working shift, must the mass of people find their escape from monotony. As the worker receives his higher wage and his margin of leisure, he must by individual and collective enterprise lift himself from the machine-made mediocrity of our modern world. The worker will not become a man till after hours. A blessing can be wrung from the machine only on its own terms. It is a comfort, although a stern comfort, to know the direction in which we are going. Knowing that, we can govern the pace and better the road. Such is the answer on removing the curse from machinery.

What of the worker's conditions after hours? The solutions of almost all our social problems are already in operation locally in patches in parts of Europe. Denmark has solved one problem, Sweden another, and Belgium a third. It needs now experts to pool these solutions into a programme and apply it wholesale. Transportation and housing lie at the heart of the problem of environment. Where the worker lives, and in what sort of home he lives, determine the conditions that surround him outside his working hours. State action here is necessary, and state action will be taken.

For two years prior to the outbreak of war a committee had been sitting to consider land and housing reform, and had brought in definite and far-reaching proposals.¹ These proposals were being very seriously considered by the Government. It is probable that a bill covering many of the reforms suggested would

¹ See Appendix on "Land" and "Housing."

have been introduced but for the war. There is every reason to believe that these reforms will come to the front as soon as the war is over. One of these measures deals with compulsory town-planning. Instead of building from thirty to forty houses to the acre, only thirteen will be allowed. This means that every workman's house will have its decent privacy, its bit of garden. Another proposal is for a system of general transportation by means of light railways. Belgium has thirty-eight and one-half times as many miles of light railway in proportion to her total area as Great Britain. This gives a network of cheap transportation covering the entire area around the great industrial centres. I used to ride into Ghent from Zele, from Melle, from every one of the smaller towns outside the city. Wherever I have stayed in Belgium, whether at Furnes, Dixmude, La Panne, Nieuport, or Ostend, the whole country-side was woven with tiny steam railways, carrying passengers for a few sous. This system gives easy transportation for the worker from his home in the suburb to his lathe in the factory.¹ It means that he can live on a little land and, with his family, carry on light gardening, reducing his cost of living, with an occasional sale in the market. The combination of the two measures,—town-planning and cheap transportation,—applied to England, will end the slum by draining it dry, and by substituting a village community in pleasant surroundings. It means a gradual, but, in the end, complete, remaking of the environment for the workers. And an environ-

¹ See Appendix on "Light Railways."

mental change so vast will recreate the physical life of the nation.

These measures are nothing but simple primitive justice. They are merely animal rights. They do not deal with the basic spiritual needs of the community. Having won his emancipation from poverty and the serf conditions of industry, the worker must face the intellectual barrenness of his life. Through no fault of his own he is poorly fitted for the rôle he is now called on to play. He is uneducated, unimaginative, unequipped to create the values in life which an industrial democracy will require in order to survive the dreary hours of monotonous machine work, however shortened and however highly paid, and the increased hours of leisure. Failing a solution for his overplus of vitality and for the unemployment of his higher faculties, he will be thrown back on rebellion as release for his unfunctioning energy.

The supreme need of English labour is wise leadership. That leadership will not allow this new energy, released by better wages and shortened hours, to spend itself in strife and rebellion. The tragedy of the labour movement has been that its leaders have often been sucked up by the Government, becoming official investigators, parliamentarians, committeemen. Or the skilled intelligent worker has passed over into the ranks of the employer. The succession of lost leaders has quenched the enthusiasm of the mass of the people, lessened their power of vision, and made them cynical of lifting themselves to a full, free life. If the shoulders of the people are used by their

most vital representatives only to be climbed upon into positions of individual prestige, the people themselves will be little bettered by generating men of power. The labour leader must find his career inside his class. He must forego the easy advantages of a thousand-pound government salary. There are few wise leaders to-day inside the ranks of the workers.

As the result, the immediately practical next steps in the social revolution are clearly seen, but the creative readjustment that will make England into a free, liberal community is not seen. The worker is about to share control of his working conditions with the "management." His hours will be shortened, his wages will be increased,—the increase has already reached about one-third of the industrial population,—he will have a voice in workshop conditions, his physical environment in his leisure hours will be ameliorated. His house will be situated in a decent community, with space around it for flowers and home gardening. Vocational training will be given to his children. This will come by a series of experimental measures, beginning with part-time employment in industry for those between the ages of fourteen and eighteen.

But a greater reconstruction than all this journeyman's work is needed. If the workers are able to develop leaders and to retain them, that leadership will concern itself in part with the cultural life of the people. There is no great future for labour except through education.¹ The American film, the public-

¹ See Appendix on "Workers' Education."

house, the ha'penny newspaper, and professional football are not sufficient of themselves to make a new world. If English labour contents itself with gains in the mechanic and physical conditions of life, the form of solution will crystallize into its own kind of neo-Toryism. The same meaningless materialism will continue to sterilize and wither the minds of men. Now the minds of officials and experts, workers and employers, are malleable, now the national consciousness has been melted into hot and fluid form. Now is the time to shape and fuse that molten mass.

"We are going around to-day with a different brain under our cap from the brain we carried three years ago," a leading official of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers said to me.

This is true of him and his fellow-workers, true of the politicians, and true of the employers. Before that brain cools to a new case-bound orthodoxy it must come to grips with larger principles of social reconstruction than any it has been dealing with in trade-union regulations. There is no discharge in this war. We need a new community, eager and unsatisfied, aiming after a nobility of life of which the modern world has had no vision. Let labour look to its task. Time presses. In five years England will have cooled down, and the impulse of the war, throwing old values into the furnace, will have spent itself. Men will reproduce the old world, with its barrenness of materialism, its hunt after cheap amusements, its immense mediocrity, its spiritual deadness, its nervous restlessness, its suppressions of vitality, and

its explosions of rebellion, the same old round of dirty little intrigue, because there will be no great purpose to which life is directed, no creative dream of the people.

And in command of the community will be the same old gang of clever politicians feeding out materialistic catchwords of "Peace and prosperity," the adroit editors ministering to sensation as a substitute for creative activity. If the workers dodge and postpone this fundamental point in their emancipation, they will give us a world little better than the Victorian mess. They will give us something very like a prosperous American industrial city such as Detroit. The privileged class, with its neat formulæ of restricted education and established Church, has long lost its control of the community. The brief reign of the captains of industry, contributing no ideas on ethics and social relationship, ended in August of 1914. Now comes the worker. Let him better the management of life. Patient, kindly, slow, very loyal to the man and the cause in which he believes, the English worker is the greatest democratic force in the world. For our own salvation we must call on him to use his brain. He allowed the first industrial revolution to swing in on top of him in its meanest and most sordid form. Now that he takes control of the second industrial revolution, he must not try to compress humanity into narrower terms than those which the innumerable varieties of the human spirit have always demanded. The masters of industry tried this, and wrecked their world.

Into the forefront of their immediate programme of action the workers must put the demand for an abolition of child labour and for the creation of a general, full-time elementary schooling up to the age of sixteen years.¹ There must be secondary and continuation schools for all promising pupils up to the age of eighteen. There must be a larger number of universities, and a democratization of all the universities. The best men among the workers must be as thoroughly equipped in modern science, economics, and sociology as the governing class used to be in the humanities. The hope of an enlightened democracy lies in the general extension of state education and in the expansion of individual initiative in such experiments for adults as the Workers' Educational Association.

But the workers must insist that the education shall not be limited to vocational training, to science of research and application, to the imparting of facts. Education must give an interpretation of life. It must construct and impart a system of ethics fitted to our time. A living wage is no answer to such a tangle as that of sex; it is no answer to the concerns of empire and the treatment of the coloured races. These are ethical matters, demanding hard thinking and new interpretations of old values. There are a dozen problems clamouring for an answer, and on no one of them is there an adequate body of recorded facts, with the tendencies deduced from them. Apparently, everything is to be solved by plunging bodily

¹ See Appendix. "Money or Education."

into activity and letting results come. What one feels the absence of in the labour movement is fundamental brain-work. Here are new processes being developed, new areas opened, a revolutionary shifting of the directive control of the modern world from the little historic group of captains to the vast army of the people themselves ; and yet there is no realization that so mighty a transfer of forces calls for a philosophy and ethics of its own. If the workers fail us in this, the patient old-time spirit will brush aside their little artificial structure like an empty shell and begin building again.

The whole range of moral problems has been left out of the reckoning. Changed conditions have resulted in an entire alteration of human relationship ; but no one has stated the new ethics that will give guidance to the plain man's desire for a free, human, liberal life and for an answer to the meaning of life. The cry of Dostoyevsky still lifts itself in our night : " Surely I haven't suffered simply that I, my crimes, and my sufferings may manure the soil of the future harmony for somebody else. I want to be there when every one suddenly understands what it has all been for. All the religions of the world are built on this longing, and I am a believer."

What interpretation of modern life have we had ? Not one. Frederick Taylor tells us to bind every thrust of the hand, every throb of the brain, into an iron scheme of regularity ; Tolstoy tells us to jump out of the system altogether. But neither they nor our other literary and scientific prophets have faced all

the facts resolutely and thought their way through to a synthesis. Neither peasant mysticism nor scientific management will put greatness into the lives that ninety out of every hundred obscure persons must live. We cannot hope for any saving word from the clever manipulators who cut the cost of production, nor from isolated artists, high above the combat. The word must come from the worker who, refusing to be factory-bound, turns from his machine after extracting a living wage and becomes an interpreter for his fellows. We wait for this word. It will be a word made flesh, and it will dwell among us. It will not utter itself in handicraft communities nor on the lonely farm. It will neither flinch from the immutable economic basis of life nor try to feed the human spirit on applied science and novel devices of speeding-up alone. It will be a word of faith.

Modern essayists write retrospectively of the "age of faith" as if faith was possible only among naïve men in an age of mental darkness. But faith is the product of a vitality that is fully expressed. It has, therefore, always been the possession of vital and effectual men, and is found alike in Cromwell and Walt Whitman. It is as inevitably the sanction of wholesome living as joy is the accompaniment and sanction of the creative impulse in love and art. It is not a blind belief in what is not true. Faith is the expression of a belief in life. The last century has been faithless not because it was dynamic and enlightened, but because it was darkened and weary. Democracy, with all its striving, has produced thus

far only three men of genius, Mazzini, Lincoln, and Walt Whitman, and one of them said :

Give me, give him or her I love this quenchless faith.

Is it a dream ?

Nay, but the lack of it the dream,

And failing it life's lore and wealth a dream,

And all the world a dream.

We moderns have side-stepped these fundamental questions of a spiritual basis for existence because they troubled our surface life. Meanwhile we heaped up the immeasurable inner forces of unanswered desires, unexpended spiritual vitality, and frustrated impulses until they finally came roaring through and overswept Europe.

There was a time when religion answered this need of the race for a vital expression. It still answers the need of a part of the community. There are liberal tendencies inside the church making for a faith which does not offend men's intellects and does not preach submission and renunciation. A small, but influential, group of workers still govern their lives by religious faith. But religion in any organized form, in any terms that are concrete and susceptible of measurement and analysis, has ceased to exist for the mass of the people. The old religious penalties and sanctions have been undermined by modern thought. Our new, vague, social consciousness has failed as yet to develop any stringent system of ethics of its own, any code of relationship which is binding. In labour a class war, in sex a mediæval suppression, were the extent of present-day vision up to the hour of the war.

For many generations the life of spiritual aspiration has been starved. There is no longer any appeal made to it. Our development is altogether in the direction of a materialistic conception of life, by legislation to conquer poverty, by machinery to achieve happiness. It looks on organization as the sole method of progress, efficiency as the end of being, science as answering all the needs of the human consciousness, and scientifically directed force as the final master of human affairs. It is not that the young or the poor go wrong, but that we all go wrong in our commercial civilization. We all live for sensation, for a visible standard of success in terms of sense-pleasures. To make life easy, to escape the old perils and hardships, the old disciplines and responsibilities, has become the chief aim of the modern community.

England must make imperious demands of the new democracy. We refuse to rest satisfied with their improved housing, easier transportation, better working conditions. These are only the means to worthy living. They do not deal with the business of living itself. If the workers of England can create a community that "looks good," the example will be irresistible, and civilization will respond to it in every nation. It is only in the creation of such communities, where the life of peace is a thing of joy, that we can look for the end of wars. But in their community they must find a place for the life of the spirit, for faith, for the finer values of nationality, for the rewards of merit, energy, and initiative. Because initiative in the old industrial serfdom only bound them the

tighter to the management, they have practised "ca' canny." But when they take control, failure in initiative will cut the taproot and spinal nerve of their productivity, their prosperity, and final well-being. They are called on for a wholly other set of qualities than those which they have developed under the stresses of wage conflict. Every situation now demands a different reaction from the one produced when a profiteering employer pulled the strings. Every new invention, every automatic machine, every shortened process, every device for directing muscular force that will cut the cost of production, is working for their benefit. But their newly used initiative must carry further than the workshop. It must wreak itself on the community, and devise a wisdom of life, fulfilling the inextinguishable longing of the human heart, which has gone unanswered in recent years till it found its answer in world war.

Unquestionably in the last fifty years the labour movement, reacting vigorously against the defences of privilege projected, often unconsciously, by organized religion and class education, has made a drive against the life of the mind and the life of the spirit. Itself a vital movement, fighting for freedom and justice, it has included among its enemies forces which are themselves the very source of freedom and justice. It has done this because these forces had created institutions, such as the established church and the great universities, which had lagged in the movement toward continuing emancipation. But labour cannot carry on a war with intelligence and spirituality without

in the end being burned up by their fine violet ray. No philosophy of income will survive against the higher demands of the human spirit. Labour must be willing to work with these victorious forces, not against them. In scorning the free play of intellect in the realms of art and pure research, and in scorning the efforts of the spirit to find an interpretation of life leading to spiritual peace, the labour movement has hardened and strengthened the very materialism which is its own worst enemy. If labour holds that it is too busy with its immediate emancipation to trouble with "theoretical considerations," it will be in the position of an army which allows itself to be outflanked and surrounded because it is concentrated on a drive at the centre. This is the gravest issue which labour faces. It has won its fight for a decent standard of living and for a measure of control in industry, but it will certainly lose the future if it continues to regard the writer, artist, and ethical teacher as parasites, and if it continues to see them as idlers who are living indolently on the hard work of better men. The labour movement is itself largely the product of a few thinkers, unconnected with organization, members of no party. It will destroy its own sources of supply and will become dried up if it discourages fresh liberations inside its own organism. Its one outlet into the future is its capacity for throwing out experiments in the creation of new varieties, like a plant. It must distrust its own orthodoxy and *status quo*, its own accepted formulæ and popular teachers, as it distrusts the utterances of bishops and class-bound captains of

industry. Only so will it manifest a principle of vitality charged with unfailing impulses. Falling short in this, it will betray itself as only a single unrelated, short-lived impulse, clothing itself in one more limited institution, which will become its tomb. The worker must not only tolerate radical interpretative thinking outside his own ranks ; he must welcome it among his fellows. The initiative of his leisure hours must lead out into regions of which he has been shy and suspicious. He must develop his own teachers and prophets and artists. The men of Ghent had already done a little of this inside their co-operative community. The English worker must be as glad of his sculptor and his poet as he is of his labour leader. By the creative use of his leisure he will justify his control over the coming age. In place of smart revues and sentimental plays perhaps he will give us drama, which has been an unused literary form for three centuries, worthy of revival.

For one hundred years the world has been silent on the meaning of life. The masters were busy with their new devices to squeeze profits, and the workers were too heavy with their toil to think at all. But by these unseen moral compulsions, by the values we create, every " free " act of our life is governed. Everything we say and do is shot through with the colour and accent of our conception of life.

If life is " playing the game," what is the game, and what are the rules ? If life consists in making good, what is the good we are making, and what is the method of the making ? If life is *noblesse oblige*,

who are the *élite*, and what is the nature of their obligation?

The Christian ethics, for instance, have never been tried. Do the workers intend to attempt them? Will they state them for us in modern terms? What precisely is our moral foundation to-day? What is the basis of our happiness and virtue?

The suppression of the human spirit, the soul,—that congeries of impulse, desires, and memories,—has gone on under the industrial revolution with its applied science, its emphasis on realism, and its mechanical detail. How faintly the life of industry has taken hold of the human spirit was revealed by the great burst of released force that broke through with the war. The nations had been gathering steam for several generations till they blew the lid off. All the time that the hands were busy in repetitive processes the secret subconscious mind was generating its own forces. Suddenly men saw a release from modern life, an escape from the machine, and a substitute for the materialistic conception of existence, and seven nations went out with faith in their hearts. The workers themselves were among the first to go, not because they were herded and conscripted, but because adventure and change and faith had returned to a very flat world. There came an almost universal exultation that at last there was something in which to believe, something impersonal and vast on which the primal forces of emotion could discharge themselves. The old industrial order received its sentence then; but unless the new industrial democracy wins for us a

creative peace, it, too, is doomed. It must give us an interpretation of life which commends itself to our nobler faculties and not alone to our body needs, or men will again turn themselves to killing in order to escape the greensickness of materialistic peace.

REASONABLE SATISFACTION

One of the men in England who has a right to speak on the principles of reconstruction is A. E. Zimmern. He is known to scholars as the author of "The Greek Commonwealth." He is known to English labour as one of the promoters of the Workers' Educational Association. He has been a member of the Reconstruction Committee for the British Government. What he and his group believe is rather likely to influence the direction of tendency in the social movement, and some of their belief will probably be enacted into law. He has very courteously given me this statement of his views on the problems of "The Pioneers."

My own view about the campaign for Germanizing England industrially is that it can't be done. The Englishman has a power of passive resistance equal to that of no one else in the world except it be the Turk. You can't drive him. German education would be impossible here because the English schoolboy would not stand it. The same is true all round, and it is this tough and conservative individualism which has been the great obstacle to the swift adaptations which the war has made necessary. That being so, one is thrown back, when one looks for directions of reform, upon the alternative policy of making the workman think the work *worth while*. This brings one to the problem of "joy in work" and to the ideas and plans of Ruskin and Morris.

Ruskin and Morris were in many respects foolish

mediævalists, but I always think that in their insistence that the work itself, not wages or ownership or anything else, was the central problem, they were in the true English tradition. I think the future historian of the English working-class movement will regard it as a calamity that they never really converted the trade-union movement to take their ideas seriously and make them practical. Instead, the trade-unionists were gradually led astray (as Morris was, too) by the invasion of Marxian ideas from Germany, which has put the whole labour movement in a false position for a generation ; for it has made the most independent section of the most individualistic people in the world confess the creed of Socialism without knowing what it is, with the odd result that the Independent Labour party, which introduced Socialism into the labour movement in the late eighties, is now engaged in the far more congenial task of combating state supremacy.

However, this is all a digression to explain why I think the time is ripe for a new orientation of labour thought on the lines of the Ruskin-Morris tradition.

I think the conception of "joy in work" needs careful analysis. I am sure that "interest" isn't the real thing we must aim at. The craftsman's joy in its pure form is rare, and the fruit of solitude and self-discipline. The English are not a race of artists. They are a race of practical, cheerful, sociable, industrious people with a high general average of ability. Such people do not aspire to joy ; what they want is to get reasonable satisfaction out of their daily work, and the social atmosphere in which they work is perhaps

the chief natural source of that satisfaction. That is why I believe that all these expedients of shop committees, etc., do really go far to touch the root of the matter.

There is another point, which I think is very important, and that is better arrangements regarding the choice of employment. I believe that if, without any other changes at all, you could simply put all misplaced square pegs into square holes and *vice versa*, you would do an enormous amount to increase "satisfaction." This is a problem of keeping the working-class child at school long enough to be able to discover its special bent, and then providing skilled vocational guidance. A lot of work has been done on these lines by Thorndike, Bloomfield, and others in the United States, and we could do vastly more here.

I think monotony should be met by regular arrangements for varying the job. There is a vast amount of experiment to be done on these lines. I expect you would find that the East-Enders who go hopping in Kent work all the better for it afterward.

Leisure, of course, is being dealt with by the Workers' Educational Association, but I think we are only at the beginning of the communal provision of leisure and of real education for the adult citizen. This is one of the main functions of a university in a modern community, and its buildings ought to be systematically used for such purposes in vacation time. In fact, the educational plant, like the factory plant, ought never to be idle.

This brings me to the poet and the artist. I have

thought a good deal about their absence, because I have the example of Athens constantly in my mind. I think the main reasons are two :

(1) That the modern world is too noisy and confused. We need absolutely to cultivate quiet. The telephone, for instance, is a devil's invention for heaving up delicate growths of thought by the roots. Most of our possible modern poets are journalists ; that is, they never keep their poetry in till it is mature. This is specially true in the United States, which is a land overflowing with imagination and creative feeling, which hardly ever materializes in enduring literary forms.

(2) We lose a huge amount of our artistic and poetic material by our neglect of education in adolescence. The reasons why modern town life has not produced its Robert Burns is that the modern industrial system crushes men's spirit in adolescence and drives them to drink or worse, from which they emerge, if at all, incapable of the biggest work.

I don't think we can ever hope to reform our social system without the artist's help, because only the artists can give our industrial workers a *standard*. Democracy in industry is all very well up to a point, but masons and bricklayers are no more qualified to design a house than navvies are to decide on how a bridge is to be built. The bridge will tumble and the house will be ugly. This is the fallacy of the arts and crafts movement, which seems to assume that hard work, creative energy, and joy can produce beauty. But beauty has laws as sure as the laws of dynamics,

and only combination of natural endowment and hard thinking can discover them. The artist is before all things a scholar. To be a painter or an architect is to be at school and to have a school, as the Italians knew. But scholars are rare. Let us find those we have, and honour them and listen to them; but do not let us flatter the workman by telling him he is equally competent to make their decisions, or that he can experience the same creative and reflective joy.

CHAPTER III

WOMEN

EMANCIPATION

TO-DAY women are facing the same hard fight for political recognition and industrial status that men faced one hundred years ago. They are taxed without being represented; they are worked without being properly paid. No phrase sums up the measure of their desires, for the desire to be free is larger than any policy, and creates its programme in action. With each gain the desire grows greater and more definite, and extends the programme commensurate with its own sense of life. At no moment and at no point can it be codified, because it is under way. And this desire, propelling the woman's movement, is only one projection of a deep and potent instinct that is operating through men and women, through nations and classes. Already it has set Europe on fire. It may yet sweep the world. This impulse of creative force has welled up from the depths of life and gone out in many directions. As nationality, it has stirred France and Poland and Croatia. It has seethed through the colonies and turned the empire into the British Commonwealth. It has touched the labour movement

into a revolutionary force. I saw the drive at Ypres. I circled Verdun and heard those guns. I have seen three hundred thousand men massed in a small area, and the regiments of relief swinging up the dusty road. But I hear other marching feet than those, and I know that this war is a little thing compared with what the silent millions are soon to be doing to this old earth. The hammers of their reconstruction will make louder thunder than any of Picardy. The world is struggling to set itself free, and there has been no such stirring in a century. This movement towards freedom may be shackled and turned to base uses, like the forces liberated by the French Revolution; but the vigour and contagion of the movement are as yet beyond the control of any authority, and may achieve a great reconstruction before they die away.

This creative impulse the women of to-day share with the miners of South Wales and the poets and peasants of Ireland. The "woman question" has been segregated as if it were a unique and unrelated problem which could be handled in a water-tight compartment. The purpose of the woman's movement, both trade-union and suffrage, is to integrate the "woman question" with the general movement toward democratic control. The charge has been made that women lack the capacity for organization, that they do not possess the native and instinctive cohesion that finds expression in trade-unions. The answer of their leaders is that absence of organization is a characteristic of unskilled, ill-paid, and casual labour, whether that labour is male or female. Where

women have been admitted to skilled trades, as in the cotton industry, they have formed powerful unions and kept step with the men. Failure to organize is not a failure of sex. It is a matter of training, opportunity, and wages. As fast as skilled trades are thrown open, as fast as men's trade-unions unbolt the door, as fast as a living wage is paid, women respond with the same qualities of cohesion, the same faculty of organization, the same understanding of the principle of democratic control, that men have revealed.

But to be granted this chance to display capacity for self-government in industry the vote is necessary. The vote is necessary because wages tend to slide down when the worker is impotent politically. The woman worker is unable to bring pressure on employers and the Government to enforce her demands. As an instance, the leaders point to the underpayment which was given for over two years to many thousands of women in Government-controlled establishments. Even in a period of high wages, women workers in large numbers have been existing on a weekly return of ten to sixteen shillings. A living wage is at least a pound a week, and even that is severely low at the present prices.¹ Granting the difference in cost of living between America and England, which is ceasing to be a wide difference, the recent decision of Massachusetts for a minimum wage of \$8.50 a week for the

¹ Estimates given me by trade union officials and welfare workers differ. See "The Cost of Food for an Adult Woman," by Clara Collet, and "Round About a Pound a Week," by Mrs. Pember Reeves.

woman shop assistant gives a better standard of living than the British Government minimum. To obtain such a minimum in the sweated industries the women say they require the vote as a method of bringing pressure on the Government.

But they also say they must have the vote in order to win the full co-operation of the men's trade-unions. Actually, male labour will make a serious blunder if it excludes women from membership in trade-unions, because, in place of an ally, it will have an unwilling enemy who will inevitably beat down the wage-scale. But to make the men see the desirability of including women in the fight for the high standard of living, the women must come with political power in their hands. Without the vote, the men regard them as a multitude of claimants, doubling the cost of organization, doubling the number of workers, without contributing to the man's strength. As a matter of fact, it is to the interest of the male trade-unions to welcome women workers even if they remain unenfranchised. It is to their interest because, if women remain as a helot class, underpaid, unorganized, they will be used to scab the labour market. The men's trade-unions will be swamped by this new labour supply, unprotected and competing for jobs. To save reconstruction from such mistakes, the women wish the vote so that they will be permitted to join male labour in the common fight. The reconstruction which is under way, much of it the blind operation of natural forces, some of it the careful programme of industrial thinkers, will be incomplete if women are

omitted from the trade-unions' councils and the parliamentary committees.

Great Britain and Germany were the two nations of the modern world where the male mind was in full control of the channels of influence before the war. That woman's fields of activity were church, children, and kitchen was believed in England as in Prussia. The average man thought woman a slightly inferior creature, politically incompetent, industrially incapable, mentally ill endowed. Unconsciously, he has wished to keep her in the ranks of an unrepresented, exploited, and casual-labour class. It has required an immense force of concentrated will, a widespread organization, and a constantly exerted pressure of what Mr. Lloyd George calls "strident nagging" for woman to win the powerful, but now very delicately balanced, position which she holds in the industrial world. She is seeking to win status. Status, or "standing," is that position which a person or a class holds because it is able to enforce its claims by political and economic power. Influence, whether silent, unconscious, or indirect, is non-existent except as the person or class possesses a measure of democratic control over the conditions of life.

This fight for recognition is in competent hands. Mary MacArthur, Maude Royden, Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Pember Reeves, Rebecca West, Susan Lawrence, Marion Phillips, Margaret Bondfield, Llewelyn Davies, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mrs. Sidney Webb, Mrs. Bosanquet, Miss Atkinson, Sylvia Pankhurst, Eleanor Rathbone, Clementina Black, and a dozen

more leaders are women of intelligence and sanity. They are making careful studies of industrial and social conditions. They are "next-step" reformers, basing their programme of action on intensive investigation, analysis, and diagnosis.

The woman's movement is fighting a low-wage scale. It is fighting bad-shop conditions and bad-home conditions.¹ It is concerned with woman as an industrial worker and as a mother. It has a programme of reform that deals with woman in each of her two capacities. It is fighting to free the narrow, suppressed, middle-class woman, to give her a good life of self-expression. It is fighting to enable high-powered, well-educated women to count in the life of the community, to win for them fuller representation at the universities, a larger measure of influence in civil service² and in Government committees concerned with industrial conditions and community welfare. Suffrage and trade-unions are two of the instruments with which to achieve status through organization.

In a matter so vast and various as the woman's movement any positive statement of aim and direction is likely to be disputed. It would be impossible that the leaders should be committed to one single reform or set of measures. Each group apprehends a special need with intensity. What to get and how to get it are not seen single-eyed by these groups with the calm concentration of Tammany Hall. The catalogue of their names shows the variety of their activities:

¹ See Appendix, "Child Welfare."

² "The Civil Service and Women," by Dorothy Zimmern.

Women's Labour League, the National Federation of Women Workers, the Women's Trade-Union League, Women's Industrial Council, Women's Co-operative Guild, Railway Women's Guild, the Women's Municipal Party, Catholic Women's League, and many more. And of suffrage societies there have been the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, the Women's Social and Political Union, the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, the Women's Liberal Federation (and Forward Suffrage Union), the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, the Women's Freedom League, the National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society, the New Union, the New Constitutional Society, the League of the Society of Friends, the People's Suffrage Federation, the Actresses' Franchise League, the Society of Women Graduates, the Women Writers' Suffrage League, the Younger Suffragists, the London Graduates' Union for Women's Suffrage, the Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society, the Artists' League, the Suffrage Atelier, and many other organizations.¹ In what follows I give only a massing together of personal impressions from talks with many women interested in the forward movement. I think that every one would ratify some part of the programme. Probably none would authorize the full programme as embodying her own activity and desire. What I think the woman's movement of Great Britain is aiming at in their fight for status, which will be mainly waged through the instruments of trade-unions and suffrage, includes :

¹ "Women's Suffrage," by Mrs Fawcett.

(1) Economic independence. To understand this, we have got to clear our talk of popular phrases. One of the portmanteau phrases of our day is that of "women going into industry." Women always were in industry till recently. Idle and unoccupied women were the exception in the older England.¹ The later Victorian Age in terms of human welfare was in this respect a reactionary age. The old-time industry of women was of course home industry. When most of the productive employments were lifted out of the home, women remained in the home, throwing a dead-weight on the productivity of the nation that it never before had to carry. The woman had always been a producer of clothing and food, and had shared the burden of requirements demanded by the household. Suddenly the man was left standing alone, with the weight of a wife and children, sister and aunt, on his single powers of production. That very recent institution, the man-supported family, is a failure. It is a failure because the individual man alone cannot buy the food, the lodging, and the clothing which make the physical basis of a good life. Slum-dwelling, under-nourishment, and disease are the proof that the man has failed to carry the burden of several human beings on his single pair of shoulders. The immense numbers of unmarried men (over three million), the undue restriction of the birth-rate, are further proofs of the breakdown of that modern and bad institution, the man-supported family. The present well-being of hundreds of thousands of working-men's homes is

¹ "Women in Industry," by Clara E. Collet.

WOMEN

due to the fact that one and two and even three women are now wage-earners who before "helped around the house." It is not alone that the wage to the individual man has gone up for perhaps one-third of the working population; it is that multitudes of women are earning money to-day who before were unemployed. I found in the Du Cros factory, for instance, that the majority of the women were the wives and relatives of the men workers who had gone to war. In the old days no one said, "A woman's proper place is the home," meaning by the home a retreat stripped of productive industry. The home meant a place of manufacture, where the woman shared with the man the burden of production.

The problem of the future is this: now that her work is at a geographical distance from her home, has she the vitality to carry on her activity at two widely separated points? It was simple to turn from the milking in the shed to the baby in the kitchen; but it is an unsolved problem how to rear a family in a side street and tend a lathe in the Woolwich Arsenal. War work for women has sharpened this problem. It is still an open question whether the excellent wage made by the young mother has been a sufficient offset to the fact of her absence from home. I have had testimony that the children under five years of age, left in the hands of relatives or friends, are better cared for because of the increased family budget. I have also had testimony that the actual care of the young child is not as good as when the mother is at home. With overtime and war strain, all former

investigations would go to show that the pressure of the last two and a half years on the organism of the woman will prove a permanent damage to the future of the race. The housing where large numbers have been shovelled together far from home is admittedly bad. The severe train journeys and the lack of moral oversight for the younger women are also admittedly bad. There is an immense amount of spade work to be done before we know even the factors in the woman question.¹ We must study the full curve of the woman's life, her adolescence, the changing curve of wifehood and motherhood, the nervous reactions in relation to function. We have been generalizing on the "nature of woman" when we have only the slightest psychological basis. It is impossible to formulate a policy or even a programme before we have a multitude of recorded observations. In place of these we are treated to large and noisy claims and vehement denials. Women *en masse* have done their best by going ahead and acting; but social students have not done their best, because they have joined the movement and swelled the volume of voices instead of extracting the data.

To return to the list of aims in the woman's movement. I think that women believe that better status will be obtained by

(2) Increased sociability.² It is not alone for

¹ On "the tendency to treat questions as though there were only one sex," see "Women in Industry: a Bibliography," published by the Women's Industrial Council (see especially "Married Women's Work.")

² Graham Wallas gives careful consideration to this aspect in "The Great Society." See also, "Domestic Service," an Enquiry by the Women's Industrial Council.

the economic reason that woman enters the industrial world in increasing numbers and, as in this war, joyfully exchanges the home and domestic service for the life of the factory. Industry is sociable. Its organization, the various contracts of relationship, answer a craving in her nature as in the man's. Life has become an increasingly friendly thing down the ages, and the lonely servant or housewife misses a fulfilment which even the underpaid shop girl finds. That the shop girl fails of values which the working-man's wife possesses is equally true. It is for the future to include both sets of values in the one life. In our overstress of economic determinism we are apt to forget that people do things because they wish to, as well as because they have to. So in all the maladjustments of women in industry we must remember that they are enjoying the conditions that surround the new work—the associations, the sociability—better than they enjoyed the isolated, unproductive home. To overstate the injustice and suffering of the industrial situation shows a lack of perspective on human history. Comfort and well-being, the margin of leisure, the elements of happiness, are greater for the mass people than at any other period. A sullenness and despair have gone from the earth. The curse is being removed. Women are already sharing in this betterment, and they have recently elected the industrial world as a field of activity not because the factory process or the department-store detail offers in itself a worthier work than the care of children, but in part because the conditions surrounding the industrial

world are freer and friendlier than the household conditions. There is an atmosphere of change and growth and sociability in paid work, and a freedom of hours when the work is done. There is probably small answer to many needs of woman's nature in clerical routine or mechanical process work in factory, office, and store. It is doubtless as sorry a thwarting of full self-expression for her as it is for the man. But she finds a partial answer to her needs, a partial expression, in the act of going out to a work of definitely assigned hours, of money payment, of set periods of freedom and recreation, of association with a group of fellow-workers, and the wider opportunity for social intercourse on self-respecting terms with men.

And so we come to what I believe is implicit in the movement toward industrial work for women. I am sure that one reason why they do not care to remain half occupied in their own homes, and why the best of them scorn domestic service, is that they wish :

(3) A freedom of choice in selecting the mate—a freedom which was imperfectly granted to the woman in the restricted domestic area where she formerly passed her life. She has rejected the old policy of passive waiting while she played the rôle of dutiful daughter and older sister, culminating in the greyness of unselected "old maid," the aunt and nurse of other people's children. To obtain this freedom of choice she has stepped out into the wider arena of the industrial world. Between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five she is often not a determined

worker in this field.¹ She puts her spending money into attractive clothes and "a good time" as an investment in aiding her to select a mate.²

(4) An equality in the home.³ As a wage-earner she can decree the terms of her position in the household. She becomes one of the two heads of the household, and ceases to be the unpaid housekeeper.

(5) Love.³ The deepest craving of her nature is to be loved. The old-time home did not fully meet this need, because love is based on equality, and she was not an equal.

(6) Intellectual and spiritual recognition.³ She wishes her mentality, the qualities of her being, to be understood by the man she loves and to be used in the life of the community. She has capacities for municipal housekeeping, for welfare legislation, for civil service, which will enrich the state.

(7) A community motherhood.³ A majority of women will find self-expression in the home, but there will always be large numbers who will turn to the outer world to express their mothering instinct. They will express it by nursing, school-teaching, reform movements, welfare work, and in the humanizing of industry.

(8) Career impulse. Increasing numbers of women find the same fullness of life in certain forms of modern work that men find. They are developing directive

¹ See "Welfare Work," by E. Dorothea Proud.

² See Appendix, "Women in Industry."

³ The older international leaders of the woman's movement have dealt with these points—Ellen Key, Olive Schreiner, Jane Addams.

capacity, accuracy, a mastery over large groups of facts and a power of generalization.

Finally, we come to the most fundamental of all the claims made by women. They wish :

(9) Birth-control.¹ The modern woman wishes a final voice in the decision as to the number of her offspring. She refuses to place herself at the disposal of the man, to be used as he sees fit. Many feminists will angrily deny that this is a tendency of the woman's movement. Probably no leader will state openly that this tendency exists among modern women. But the vital statistics of the various countries establish the fact, and Great Britain, apart from the lowest elements of the population, has for forty years revealed a falling birth-rate. One can exempt many persons and many groups from the implication that they have furthered this tendency, and still be well inside what the facts show in stating that a powerful portion of the woman's movement, while not openly advocating birth-control, have nevertheless practised it, and that the emancipation of women is proceeding to the accompaniment of a falling birth-rate. The unwillingness here to state the belief on which one acts is probably the last relic of the shame of sex which English and Americans share in equal measure.

The relationship of worker to master has passed through slavery, serfdom, and the wage-nexus up to free labour. The relationship of women and man has had no such sharp stages, marked by a time division. But woman has been, variously and some-

¹ See Appendix, "Women and Population."

times in the single relationship, the instrument of household service, the instrument of pleasure, and the instrument of race procreation. In none of these relationships, as houri, squaw, or mother in Israel, has she been the free agent. Her position has been assigned her by man. The code of ethics governing her conduct has been created by what man thinks about her, and what he decrees she ought to be and to produce. He has assigned the limits, the conditions, and the kind of her activity. As she steps out into freedom, and, in particular, strikes a balance between her function as worker and citizen and her function of motherhood, she presents the community with this far-reaching problem of birth-control. In "Principles of Social Reconstruction," by Bertrand Russell, I read :

Very large numbers of women, when they are sufficiently free to think for themselves, do not desire to have children, or at most desire one child in order not to miss the experience which a child brings. There are women who are intelligent and active-minded who resent the slavery to the body which is involved in having children. There are ambitious women, who desire a career which leaves no time for children. There are women who love pleasure and gaiety, and women who love the admiration of men ; such women will at least postpone child-bearing until their youth is past. All these classes of women are rapidly becoming more numerous, and it may be safely assumed that their numbers will continue to increase for many years to come.

It is too soon to judge with any confidence as

to the effects of women's freedom upon private life and upon the life of the nation. But I think it is not too soon to see that it will be profoundly different from the effect expected by the pioneers of the women's movement. Men have invented, and women in the past have often accepted, a theory that women are the guardians of the race, that their life centres in motherhood, that all their instincts and desires are directed, consciously or unconsciously, to this end. Tolstoy's *Natacha* illustrates this theory: she is charming, gay, liable to passion, until she is married; then she becomes merely a virtuous mother, without any mental life. This result has Tolstoy's entire approval. It must be admitted that it is very desirable from the point of view of the nation, whatever we may think of it in relation to private life. It must also be admitted that it is probably common among women who are physically vigorous and not highly civilized. But in countries like France and England it is becoming increasingly rare. More and more women find motherhood unsatisfying, not what their needs demand. And more and more there becomes to be a conflict between their personal development and the future of the community.

The diminution of numbers, in all likelihood, will rectify itself in time through the elimination of those characteristics which at present lead to a small birth-rate. Men and women who can still believe the Catholic faith will have a biological advantage; gradually a race will grow up which will be impervious to all the assaults of reason and will believe imperturbably that limitation of families leads to hell-fire. Women who have mental interests, who care about art or literature or politics, who desire a career or who value their liberty, will gradually grow rarer, and be more

and more replaced by a placid maternal type which has no interests outside the home and no dislike of the burden of motherhood. This result, which ages of masculine domination have vainly striven to achieve, is likely to be the final outcome of women's emancipation and of their attempt to enter upon a wider sphere than that to which the jealousy of men confined them in the past.

On the other hand, in a recent talk which I had with Havelock Ellis he expressed himself as wholly in favour of the birth-control movement. He believes it will tend to do away with war and poverty. He spoke with approval of the publicity campaign carried on in America by Mrs. Sanger, and he showed me a copy of a little magazine of birth-control, issued in Cleveland, Ohio. In his latest book, "Essays in War-Time," he writes :

It used to be thought small families were immoral. We now begin to see that it was the large families of old which were immoral. Quality rather than quantity is the racial ideal now set before us.

He speaks of the evil Russian factory conditions as "the natural and inevitable result of a high birth-rate in an era of expanding industrialism. Here is the goal of unrestricted reproduction, the same among men as among herrings. This is the ideal of those persons, whether they know it or not, who in their criminal rashness would dare to arrest that fall in the birth-rate which is now beginning to spread its beneficent influence in every civilized land."

He sees birth-control as a natural process, with laws that underlie the voluntary and deliberate fac-

tors. "To improve the environment is to check reproduction," so that birth-control becomes part of the entire forward movement of the race. "Those who desire a high birth-rate are desiring, whether they know it or not, the increase of poverty, ignorance, and wretchedness." All this concerns the nation within itself. With the international aspect of birth-control, which is the heart of the problem, the next chapter deals. We are confronted here by the most significant tendency in modern civilization. As yet we are meeting it with silence or with rhetoric, with a Mosaic morality or a callous cynicism; but of patient study there is little. The modern woman has precipitated upon us many problems,—"dilution" of labour, and union rules, and all the rest,—but no other problem so searching, so fundamental, as that of birth-control. The correct solution will be determinative of the future of the race, the nation, and the world.

Like every other living and growing thing, the woman's movement will continue to puzzle us, and we shall catch up with it only to find it has swung out far ahead and over a wider area.

THE FEMINISTS OF THE WAR OFFICE AND ADMIRALTY

The War Office and the Admiralty are proving themselves in this war daring innovators of radicalism. They will be ranked in the future alongside of the syndicalists and the state socialists as initiators of a new social order. They have accepted the "new morality" of the most advanced school of Ellen Key,

and have enacted it into legislation. What they have done is to concede the claims of "sex agitators" and grant an endowment for maternity to the women of Great Britain. They have not paused at orthodox motherhood, sanctioned by court and church, but in their impetuous feminism they have legitimized unions without the benefit of clergy, and are caring for unmarried wives and mothers. They have made the advanced programme of the woman's movement their own, and have swallowed whole the scouts, cavalry fringe, and lonely outposts of sex radicalism. The British people had largely confined the woman's question to a suffrage and trade-union movement, a political movement. They had fought shy of the sex implications (maternity endowment, unmarried motherhood) upon which certain advanced thinkers in Germany and the Scandinavian countries had long been insistent. But at one bold stroke the audacious pioneers of the army and navy have opened the full question, and brushed aside the reserve and timidity which Britons, like Americans, manifest in the presence of procreation. The result is a scheme as amazing as if Kitchener and Havelock Ellis had worked in genial collaboration. Militarism in England has proved a powerful dynamic for democratic control. It has bettered the status of labour, and it has created the new British commonwealth of five self-governing democracies. The longer it is on top, the more equality it generates among its conscripts. But nothing it has done is so subversive of the old order as this endowment of maternity. Into what fresh fields of liberalism the

staff-officers and sea-lords will break during the coming months no observer will now dare predict.

Eleanor Rathbone, the famous town councillor of Liverpool, writes in "The Common Cause" of these military and naval feminists :

In the system of separation allowances they have been conducting what is, in effect, the greatest experiment that the world has ever seen in the State endowment of maternity. At the outbreak of the present war separation allowances were promised, first to the wives and children, and afterwards, in succession, to all other classes of dependants of both soldiers and sailors. The scale is sufficient at least to place the large majority of dependants of soldiers and sailors in as good or better a position financially than that which they occupied before the war. The separation allowance is the possession of the wife and not of the husband, and cannot be drawn by him even with her consent. Thus, the allowance has, in fact (whatever the intention of the Government may have been), two characteristics which we should expect to find in a system of State endowment of maternity, viz. : it is a statutory payment to a woman in respect of her functions as a wife and mother, and it is proportionate in amount to the number of her children.

What really matters is not that the greater part of the upper, middle, and upper working-classes restrict their families, but that the strata below them, including the whole slum population, practise no such restriction. They multiply quite freely, and public health authorities combine with private benevolence to do just enough to keep the babies so born alive, but not enough to make them healthy. Hence, we are, as a nation, recruiting the national

stock in increasing proportions from the lower and least desirable elements in the population. The first advantage of separation allowances is, then, that it removes the temptation to undue restriction of families from those far-seeing and cautious parents who now practise it, and that it gives to the younger members of large families a better chance of healthy maintenance than they have ever had before.

It will be interesting to see how these women will take it when the war is over and they are asked to go back to their old status of dependency. I confess to hoping that the seeds of "divine discontent" will have been implanted in them too deeply to be eradicated, and that we feminists will then find our opportunity. The economic soundness of the State endowment of maternity has always appealed to me, even more strongly, if possible, than its humanitarian and eugenic advantages. Many people do not seem even to have grasped the elementary truth that the work of bearing and rearing the rising generation is the occupation of all occupations that is most absolutely essential to the existence of the State. The women who are engaged in this occupation have to be maintained, and so have their children until they are of an age to keep themselves. The money that this costs has to come from somewhere.

These separation allowances are the first serious attempt made by the Government to deal with the question of population, the most fundamental question which the nation faces. If half a million of the young men are killed or hopelessly incapacitated by this war, the resources of the country are diminished beyond repair unless a method of replenishment is instituted.

Our past method of allowing the slum population to multiply, and forcing our better-class workers to restrict their families, is national suicide. English thought is almost silent on this question of whence the next generation is to come when the number of the fathers is lessened. There is a buzz of talk on tillage, cattle-raising, fertility of soil, but of how to get the human product there is little said. Bertrand Russell writes :

It seems unquestionable that if our economic system and our moral standards remain unchanged, there will be, in the next two or three generations, a rapid change for the worse in the character of the population in all civilized countries, and an actual diminution of numbers in the most civilized.

There is reason to fear in the future three bad results : first, an absolute decline in the numbers of English, French, and Germans ; secondly, as a consequence of this decline, their subjugation by less civilized races and the extinction of their tradition ; thirdly, a revival of their numbers on a much lower plane of civilization, after generations of selection of those who have neither intelligence nor foresight. If this result is to be avoided, the present unfortunate selectiveness of the birth-rate must be somehow stopped.

The problem is one which applies to the whole Western civilization. There is no difficulty in discovering a theoretical solution, but there is great difficulty in persuading men to adopt a solution in practice, because the effects to be feared are not immediate, and the subject is one upon which people are not in the habit of using their reason. If a rational solution is ever adopted, the cause will probably be international rivalry. It is

obvious that if one state, say Germany, adopted a rational means of dealing with the matter, it would acquire an enormous advantage over other states unless they did likewise. After the war it is possible that population questions will attract more attention than they did before, and it is likely that they will be studied from the point of view of international rivalry. This motive, unlike reason and humanity, is perhaps strong enough to overcome men's objections to a scientific treatment of the birth-rate.

Certain radicals suggest the extension of birth-control to the lowest elements in the population, so that the ignorant and diseased and feeble-minded will not breed out of proportion to the rest of the community. But birth-control alone, even when generally applied inside a nation instead of being applied as now only to the intelligent and wholesome elements, does not meet the international situation, which is one where the militaristic and autocratic nations go on multiplying, and so altering the balance of power. Two wars have revealed that a stable population, like the French, no matter what its national well-being and its courage, is not in itself powerful enough to resist the invasion of a military nation superior in numbers. A generally applied birth-control does not meet the actual situation of an ever-expanding Slav race, with the yellow races in the near background and the early future in world arrangements. We cannot rely on an eternal world peace to permit us to reduce the populations of the democracies

If England becomes a nation of a permanent,

balanced, static civilization of forty million persons, that gives the future to prolific races, and the liberal democratic experiment is doomed. In America we are going this way blindly. Our old stock is practising birth restriction and is passing out of existence. We have hidden from ourselves the perils and ultimate disaster of this process by importing fresh hordes of vital peasants from southern and south-eastern Europe ; but the process is working to the extinction of the old America, and it is substituting different races, of alien blood and belief. A control of our life is being exercised by other races, and in a few generations we shall have an America as distinct from Puritan New England and the Cavalier South as Dublin is different from Manchester. Immigration is the easy and fatal solution for a lessening stock in America, but it is no answer for England. Englishmen will never let themselves be drowned out by tides of Sicilians, Slovaks, and Russian Jews. The future of England rests on whether its women are mothers, and whether those mothers and their children are well provided for. All other problems of reconstruction are derivative as compared with the creation of life and the establishment of a healthy and numerous child population. Lowering the death-rate by good milk and sanitation and housing and medical care is only a partial cure for a falling birth-rate. And saying, " Let women work in the factories and professions and be mothers at the same time " does not meet the fact that the factory and the home are separate places.

" More and better children " is obviously the only

solution for a Western democracy in a world where neighbouring nations are not under democratic control. So we are forced back to some such answer as that of the feminist movement, led by the War Office and the Admiralty. Do not penalize by poverty the woman who gives sons and daughters to the state; endow motherhood. Population is a community and state concern. A nationalized motherhood is of more importance than nationalized railways. The military authorities have blazed the way by a reckless disregard of *laissez-faire* and conventional morality. They have laid down the principle of state guardianship for the profession of motherhood. It now rests with the common sense of England—a common sense reinforced by the instinct of self-preservation—to refuse to permit the great experiment of the War Office and the Admiralty to die away.

BOWING THEM OUT

The women of England, having received the thanks of a grateful kingdom, are now about to be rushed to the door and kicked downstairs. They will be considered unmannerly if they do not pick themselves up from the door-step and disappear unostentatiously into the night. The process of accelerating them into their place is already under way. The British bar has recently voted down the admission of "duly qualified women to the profession" by an overwhelming majority. The sober sense of the members came to voice in the orator who was able to speak for "a good many members of the bar serving with the

colours. They had the first claim to say to what extent the old tradition which confined admission to the bar to the male sex should be maintained. To take such a decision in their absence would be unjust to them."

The man at the front is being worked overtime in these days. He has to stand duty in wet trenches, and then the ghostly projection of him is yanked back to elderly gatherings in London to protest against alterations in the ancient way of doing things.

So woman's fight for recognition reaches its third campaign. In the days before the war there was a dead-weight of opposition, made up of ignorance, distrust of change, and sex scorn. Then came the need of woman's help in 471 munition processes, in medicine and organization. If girls made shells, steered delivery-wagons, conducted hospitals, served on the police force, managed business, and adjusted industrial disputes, there was little cogency in saying that women could not do man's work. As one of the women who helped to pull England through said: "Before the war women were only the mothers of men. Now they had risen to the dizzy heights of the makers of machine-guns." The tide was with them, and every wind that blew filled their sails.

Now comes the third and bitterest phase of the long fight. "Thank you kindly, but it is time for you to go." Bad years are ahead for the women of England. But let no one worry unduly. They have come to stay, and they will obtain the vote. During the transition period, when the shell factories are

becoming industrial plants, when the returning soldiers will have first call on the jobs, when the men's trade-unions are making up their minds whether women are their allies or their enemies, and when Parliament is deciding whether its ancient, solitary reign will be molested by these energetic new-comers, the female semi-skilled workers will have a severe experience. The unskilled workers will have the same sordid experience they have always had.* This period of transition may extend through several years. Gradually the creation of new industries, making use of the new automatic machinery introduced under war pressure, will again offer jobs to the demobilized women. Winning the suffrage, women will have the power to enforce their demands for proper payment, and as voters they will suddenly become welcome additions to the male trade-unions, and together they will continue the fight for a high standard of living for both men and women.¹

Over one million women have recently entered industry, transport, commerce, finance and banking, government employment, and agriculture. Six hundred thousand of these are busy in munition-making. This increase came from five classes : first, more than one hundred thousand came from domestic servants ; second, from the ranks of out-workers and small employers ; third, from women remaining in industry after marriage and to a later age, and girls fresh from school ; fourth, married women, widows, former

¹ Seebohm Rowntree points out that when peace comes we shall probably see in industry grave dislocation, then feverish activity, then long depression.

dependants, returning to employment ; fifth, middle-class women, society women, entering industry and commerce.¹

Many of these women will return to the home at the close of the war, but a large percentage have come to stay. Many have replaced the man in semi-skilled and unskilled work, one woman for one man. This is direct substitution. Indirect substitution is found when woman takes the place of an unskilled or a semi-skilled man who in turn takes the place of a fully skilled man. Group substitution is when a group of women takes the place of a smaller group of men, and substitution by rearrangement when women, plus automatic machinery, do work previously requiring skilled workers. The introduction of women by these methods of substitution is virtually general throughout the trades.

In mechanical engineering, in "controlled" firms, the money wages received on piece-work are far above those earned by women before the war. Two pounds a week is rather common, and instances of thirteen dollars a week day-rates are known. By a series of orders a minimum wage of a pound a week for forty-eight hours was gradually established.

In the cotton trade, boot-and-shoe industry, tailoring, bleaching and dyeing, woollen and worsted, china and earthenware industries, and wood-work, wages have been much bettered during the war.

The same care in substitution has not been made

¹ For this page, and the next two pages, see "The Position of Women after the War," the Report of the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organizations.

In agriculture, in biscuit and bread, rubber works, confectionery and sweets. The woman's wage here has tended to increase during the war, but probably not to equal the man's rate.

Summing up, the substitution of women for men has increased the money wage for women. In trades with definite agreements the women's rates approximate the men's. Where there has been no agreement, the women's wage has been better than before the war, but is still far too low.

Of women in women's work, in the fuse and powder trades, as the result of arbitration, a gain has been made. In electrical engineering and telephone work, except for certain cases, the rate has changed but little. Why has woman won a decided advance in mechanical engineering and not in electrical engineering? The answer is that she is organized in mechanical engineering. Skilled groups of women workers in the power-machine trade have won real advances. In sugar, confectionery, tailoring, and shirt-making a fair advance has been made. But all three trades are closely related to war work. Where the woman's trade organization has been strong she has obtained a decided rise in wages, whether she has been doing women's work or substitution work in men's jobs. But the bulk of women's industries have not kept step with the increased cost of living, nor has substitution for men necessarily obtained the man's full rate. The standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organizations reports that munition-workers have obtained a fair minimum promised

them by the Government exactly in so far as their organizations have enforced the promise.

It is clear, then, that it is possible at any time to obtain a decided advance in women's wages, including sweated industries. This advance will be obtained when, and not until when, the trade-union movement enforces it. The trade-union movement will probably not enforce it until women have the vote.

For two and a half years women industrial workers as a class have had more money than ever before. What has been done with it? It has gone into milk for the children, meat for a few meals a week instead of once a week, heat in the rooms, a clean dress for the little girl, a picture-show for all the children. It has gone into war savings. It has purchased status, that most precious of all things. Money buys self-respect and a sense of well-being. For the first time in the life of many of these women they have not been obliged to go under-nourished, a little pinched, a little chilly, dressed in a garb that stamps them of the lower class.¹ They have put off the faded shawl, the dreary blouse, the discoloured straw hat, the boots with sagging heels, and the heavy-threaded stockings, thick at the ankles.² Is it anything but good that some of them have rented a piano for the home, and now have a bit of fun and music in crowded rooms? I have a friend who has oversight of some thousands of these workers. He told me of a girl who bought three suits of silk underwear at thirty-seven shillings a suit. It is nice to feel

¹ See "Downward Paths," for a study of economic pressure in the lives of working women.

² See Appendix, "Clothes."

well-dressed from the skin out, when all the days of one's youth one has been in the uniform of the poor.

But he told me another thing. When one of the workers died of consumption, he sold 223 tickets at sixpence, a shilling, and half-a-crown each among the other workers for the widow and two children. Every week has its benefit for some family of the shop. Every week, with an open hand, the workers pay out their money for concert or theatrical entertainment to make a fund for people in trouble. For hundreds of thousands of these women the years of war has brought the first free spending money they have ever known, and there is something appealing, if we knew it, in the history of every shilling they have spent.

The war has introduced grave dangers to the health of women by night work ; overtime ; hot atmospheric conditions such as occur in certain processes in woollen textile ; severe muscular action, as in the lifting of heavy weights ; and by poisoning, as in some of the processes in shell-filling.¹ In munition work there has been a nervous strain connected with certain of the processes and the dangers of fire and explosion. In addition, a few factories are in Zeppelin areas, and on a telephone warning all lights go out, and the women lie flat on the floor till the danger is past. When the word comes to them to rise, one or two in a department are found in a faint.

To offset this, the Government has made the most determined effort in the history of any public institu-

¹ See the reports of the " Health of Munition Workers Committee."

tion to enforce proper conditions of work, to fight against overtime, to establish cleanliness, sanitation, and nourishment. The welfare department, under the ministry of munitions, has literally laboured day and night to guard the girls and women of Great Britain. It has sought to preserve six hundred thousand women from results of war pressure which would have been disastrous. As a peace measure, welfare work is still an open question when conducted by private enterprise unless it is clearly an addition to a living wage and not a clever substitute for it. But as a Government measure in a time of the severest crisis in the history of the world it deserves nothing but praise.

Of the million women who have transferred themselves into new work, how many are going to stay? No one knows. An organization to combine women in certain trades sent out recently a form of questions with the inquiry, "Do you wish after the war to return to your former work or to stay in what you are doing now?" Of three thousand answers, twenty-five hundred replied that they wished to remain in the new work. That is, five-sixths. On the other hand, an investigator who has made a study of social conditions among the Coventry workers tells me that the majority of the women say they will leave industry and take up home life after the war. Some of them are married women who are now making the family income while the husband is at the front. Others are upper-class women who are "filling in" from patriotic motives for the duration of the war only. Others are girls

with their "boys" at the front. The young man will return from the war "fed up" with the life of a "stag camp," keenly desirous of a home and a family. Each locality, then, has to be studied, for each offers its own set of conditions. But out of the *melée* we can see several hundred thousand women, newcomers in the trades of men, remaining. We must remember that the old work no longer is open to them to the same extent as in the days before the war. It is probable that some of the luxury trades have ceased for ever. Common-sense, taxation, and the organized state will not permit the old-time expenditure on millinery, ball-dresses, and fancy sweets. Domestic service will not again suck up one million and three-quarters women. The house that kept twenty-four servants will keep ten, the family that had three will "do" with one. There is no direction for women to go but forward.

Will there be work for them? No one knows. Coventry has already received orders for 1918, and it is probable that industry there will run on at full capacity for a year or two at least after the war. In Sheffield the employers plan a swift conversion to the trades of peace. The great steel firms anticipate an undiminished demand for their produce. What made shells will be turned into railway supplies, for instance. Already they have orders that guarantee the immediate future—orders from Great Britain and Russia. They state that they will continue the women at work and will at the same time fit in the men. But such a report is unusual.

There are men's trade-unions who stood by the job until the women received the same rate of pay that they possessed. One or two other men's unions have promised to make the same fight after the war for the women. But these instances of rendering the work of reconstruction easy are unique, and the women must probably make their own fight, unaided by the Government, by the men's trade-unions, and by the employers. Unorganized and unenfranchised, they will be the centre of unrest and suffering, a running sore in industry, imperilling the standard of living established by the men's organizations, scabbing wages, and weakening the trade-union movement.¹ With votes and widespread unions, they would become a vital element in the emancipation.²

What women face at the end of the war is the chaos into which they fell at the beginning of the war, when over a million and a half of employed women were thrown out of work or placed on short time. With the coming of peace the semi-skilled women will be demobilized from the munitions factories and dumped upon the labour market. At the same time two and a half million men will leave war trades and flood the labour market. And the army will be demobilized. Much of the new machinery created for war needs will be available for the industries of peace; but the period of transition will be long, because the plant must be adjusted to the new requirements, markets

¹ See Mrs. Fawcett's chapter, "The Position of Women in Economic Life" in the volume "After War Problems."

² See Appendix, "Trade Union and Votes for Women."

for the product developed, and capital found. It may be two years, it may be five years, before what has been a shell factory becomes an engineering plant, turning out an equal volume of production. During the time in which the business is finding itself the women workers are going to be the last class in the labour market to be considered. The old skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers returning from the army, the men munition-workers, the partly wounded soldiers, will have prior consideration. They will be safeguarded by a carefully wrought scheme of demobilization, by a properly adjusted unemployment insurance, by a pension system. It rests with the women, by agitation and pressure, to establish for themselves a standard of living, and to hold fast to the undoubted immense gains they have made during the war.

The task is probably not one primarily of creating work. The rebuilding of Belgium and northern France, the deterioration of plant in Great Britain, the closer industrial association of England with her colonies, the needs of Russia—all these give promise of a stimulated market for British products. The task is one of organization, devising a machinery for connecting the worker with the job, safeguarding unemployment, and maintaining the standard of living. The new Minister of Labour is arranging to breathe life into the sleepy institution of labour exchanges, and to add eight hundred to the number. The Government has offered the extension of compulsory unemployment insurance. This meets only the needs of some of the war workers and meets those needs only in part. Seven shillings

a week amounts to poor relief, and does not reconstruct the industrial situation of the total group.

Certain of the women leaders have suggested a widespread unemployment insurance which shall preserve the standard of living; an analysis of the market as to where workers will be required, with the distribution of such information through trade-unions and employment exchanges; and a supply of blank forms to be filled up by the workers desiring future employment; due notice of dismissal to be given by "controlled" establishments, and return railway fares to be paid to those workers who have come from a distance; and the use of Government factories for a continuing national work. Further, they have suggested a system of training in new trades for women displaced from work. Such is the immediate programme.

But back of it lies a deeper need. The suggestion has been made for a minimum wage. This could well be made part of the general policy, which was already beginning to be formulated before the war for a minimum wage in agriculture and the underpaid men's trades. Experts had agreed before the war that the primary condition to be met was that, with the least possible delay, all workers of normal ability should receive as an absolute minimum a reasonable living wage. By this is meant a wage which will enable an adult man to maintain a family of normal size in a state of physical efficiency, and which will allow a margin for recreation. With the prices of July, 1914, this was twenty-seven shillings a week,

allowing five shillings for rent. With present prices this has become thirty-six shillings. But to establish a minimum of thirty-six shillings a week at one stroke is impracticable; so the present demand is for a minimum of thirty shillings. The minimum suggested for a woman was sixteen shillings before the war. It is now a few shillings over a pound a week (the rate gradually established by the Government in munition factories). Some of the experts ruled out the suggestion that a woman should be paid as a minimum enough to maintain a family. They argued that minimum wages should be arranged with a view to normal conditions, and though there are many exceptions, the normal condition is for man to maintain a family and for a woman not to do so. This contention will of course be disputed by many feminists on the showing of the facts. But what is clear in the matter is that there is a rapidly increasing tendency toward a minimum wage, and that a minimum-wage act must include women.

Other measures of reconstruction are being pressed by the leaders of working-women. Investigation is needed as to what employments are hurtful to a woman's organism. Reform of the factory laws is included in the changes that are now seen to be required. The eight-hour day must be enforced. President Wilson by his decision in the railway strike has enforced a principle to which the trade-unions all over the world must respond. Women officials are required in greatly increased numbers to safeguard the position of women in industry. Not only must the number of

women factory inspectors be increased, but it may prove to be necessary that members of the new profession of welfare workers in factories shall be appointed by the state rather than paid for by the employer, and the new labour ministry must have among its under-secretaries a permanent representation of women. The trade-unions must grant admission to women in return for monetary contributions, and the women must have a measure of control of the machinery of the union. The children who by means of a special certificate have leaked into industry must be returned to school. This at one sweep would relieve the labour market of one hundred and eighty thousand persons in industry and agriculture. It is probable that all these reforms are dependent on the winning of the suffrage.

DISORGANIZATION

The chaos out of which woman's work is slowly emerging will be revealed by a modern instance better than by tons of generalization. I have asked a young woman of excellent middle-class family, now financially pinched, to make a chart of her recent life-history. Better than any "wail" it shows the *cul-de-sac* of the old "genteel" occupations. It explains why she has turned to clerical work in the War Office, paying a salary of twenty-seven shillings a week. It shows why she will not return to the old job after the war. Like a few hundred thousand other women, she has entered organized life determined to stay. Employers, the state, and trade-unions must reckon with her. Her

chapter of dreary episode is followed by a chapter in sharp contrast on the policewomen, who have inserted organization into a muddled community. The two chapters together are the concrete demonstration of the economic and social disturbance which has precipitated women into the central activities of the community.

My friend's position was that of "lady help," the kind of work which is "woman's work," and has the approval of anti-feminists and other reactionary theorists. I have preserved her arrangement and phrasing.

COMPANION HELP IN BOARDING-HOUSE AT
ST. LEONARDS

£20 (\$100) salary a year.

1 shilling, weekly laundry.

Tips, gloves, flowers, or sweets.

- 6.30 A.M. Rise.
- 7.0 Dust dining-room and drawing-room, water and wash all plants, arrange flower-vases and put out all dessert, make servants' and own bed, tidy own bedroom.
- 9.0 Pour out all coffee and tea and cocoa, help with serving breakfast.
- 10.0 Make all single beds, help maid with double ones (about twenty-two bedrooms, two houses adjoining). Dust all bedrooms, superintend maid with all upstairs work and turning out of rooms, give out all linen, see to sorting same.
- 12.0 M. Mend all torn linen, interview guests for rooms.
- 1.0 P.M. Help serve lunch, give out and check all beer and stout sold.
- 2.0 till 4.0. Free to go out or rest.
- 4.0 Cut up all cakes for tea, and hand round tea with maid in drawing-room.
- 5.30 Mending.
- 6.30 Time allowed myself to change for dinner.
- 7.0 Serve soup, vegetables, and sweets.
- 8.0 Entertain in drawing-room, singing and accompanying songs, arrange card-tables, talk to gentlemen in smoking-room.
- 11.0 Put out all lights in both houses, then allowed to go to bed.

LADY HELP AT RECTORY, WITH SIX IN FAMILY
AND NO SERVANT

£18 (\$90) salary a year.
1 shilling, laundry weekly.

- 6.0 A.M. Rise.
- 6.30 Clean big kitchen range, clean two sitting-room
grates, sweep two big rooms, and dust.
- 9.0 Cook breakfast (hot), lay cloth, serve, clear away.
- 10.0 Make beds with lady, empty toilets, sweep and
dust four bedrooms.
- 11.0 Cook and prepare hot lunch, wash all vegetables,
just dug out of garden, clean windows inside
which needed doing, clean silver and brass in
sitting-rooms, clean door-step every other day.
- 12.0 M. Tidy up kitchen before lunch, wash over kitchen
with mop, also scullery (stone floors), wash
hearth.
- 12.30 P.M. Lay lunch and serve.
- 1.30 Clear lunch away and wash up, lady helping to
dry up.
- 2.15 Time allowed to tidy up and have rest.
- 3.45 Get tea for four, clear away, and wash up.
- 6.0 Bathe and put little boy to bed, get supper for
same and his little brother.
- 7.0 Prepare hot supper for four.
- 8.0 Serve supper, clear away, and wash up.
- 9.0 Put hot bottles in four bedrooms.
- 9.30 Finished work ; could go to bed if I liked.

LADY HELP AT HOUSE, WHERE NO SERVANT IS KEPT

Five in family, parents, one little girl of five, twins ten weeks old, in delicate health.

£12 (\$60) a year.

- 6.30 A.M. Rise.
- 7.0 Make and take up early tea to bedroom, dress little girl.
- 8.30 Sweep dining-room, dust, and lay cloth.
- 9.0 Look after twins through breakfast, have mine as best could, also attend little girl.
- 10.0 Help both twins get ready, make beds, dust and sweep four bedrooms, empty toilets, tidy bathroom, take all three children out, babies in pram (perambulator).
- 12.30 P.M. Bring children home, make bottles, lay luncheon on cloth.
- 1.0 Look after three children at lunch.
- 3.0 Take three children out, have entire charge of thrée.
- 4.0 Get tea, make bottles, take children out for short time, do shopping.
- 6.0 Put babies and little girl to bed, give them bottles.
- 7.0 Get supper and lay cloth, clear away and wash up, listen to babies the rest of the evening, make their bottles.
- 11.0 Could go to bed. Had one twin in my room all night, had to attend to it and make bottle every two hours through the night ; baby slept very badly.

LADY HELP AT PRIVATE HOUSE AT BLACKHEATH,
WITH PARENTS AND TWO CHILDREN,
NO SERVANTS

£20 (\$100) salary a year.

- 6.0 A.M. Rise.
- 6.30 Take up early morning tea, sweep dining-room and hall, clean kitchen, light fire, clean grate, cook hot breakfast, light copper on Mondays, and fill same.
- 8.30 Serve breakfast.
- 9.30 Clear breakfast and wash up.
- 10.0 Empty toilets, dust stairs and landing and bath-room, sweep and dust four bedrooms, dust drawing-room.
- 11.0 Take children out to do shopping.
- 12.0 M. Prepare and cook hot lunch, make puddings for hot supper.
- 1.0 P.M. Serve lunch, lay cloth, clear away, wash up, and make tea.
- 3.0 Time allowed to tidy and wash myself.
- 3.45 Get tea, clear away and wash up, ironing to be done.
- 6.0 Take children for walk, get their supper.
- 7.30 Cook supper, lay cloth, and wash up.
- 9.0 Work finished, go to bed.

LADY HELP AT HOTEL IN LONDON

£26 (\$130) salary a year.

1 shilling, laundry weekly.

- 7.0 A.M. Rise.
- 7.30 Dust dining-room, drawing-room and hall, see to flower-vases, help maid carry up all breakfasts from basement to dining-room, varying in number, clear in between, and keep tables quite tidy and freshly laid.
- 10.30 Go upstairs with maid, make all beds by myself, fill jugs, tidy bathroom, dust and sweep ten bedrooms.
- 12.20 P.M. Tidy for lunch, help maid lay luncheon cloth, [carry up some trays.
- 1.0 P.M. Wait on guests at lunch.
- 2.0 Clear away lunch and wash silver, knives, and glass.
- 3.0 Mend torn linen, answer front door-bell, shopping.
- 4.0 Lay and get tea, usually two meals of tea at different times, then mend linen until six o'clock.
- 6.30 Help maid lay dinner-cloth.
- 7.0 Bring each separate course from kitchen upstairs, wait on guests in dining-room.
- 8.0 Wash up silver, knives, and glass.
- 8.45 Finished ; go home.

LADY HELP AT LADIES' HOSTEL FOR WAR WORKERS.
DAILY COOK KEPT

£18 (\$90) salary a year.

- 6.0 A.M. Rise.
- 6.30 Fill big tea oven, make ready morning tea, lay breakfast for eighteen, cut up four plates of bread and butter.
- 7.30 First breakfast for seven.
- 8.30 Rest, have breakfast, serve and wait on every one, hand cups round.
- 9.30 Empty all toilets, fill all jugs in fifteen bedrooms, cubicles mostly, sweep and dust bedrooms, sweep stairs (four flights).
- 12.0 M. Lay luncheon-cloths.
- 1.0 P.M. Serve luncheon and wait on twenty people.
- 2.0 Clear away luncheon.
- 3.0 Wash up silver, glass, and knives.
- 3.20 Time allowed for rest and to tidy myself.
- 4.0 Get tea for seven people.
- 5.30 Wash up tea-things.
- 6.0 Lay cloth for twenty for evening meal; meal lasts till 9 P.M.
- 9.0 Wash up.
- 10.0 Go to bed.

LADY WAITRESS AT ARMY PAY OFFICERS'
MESS

Ten shillings salary a week. Had to pay four shillings a week for bedroom out of it ; only to work from Monday to Friday.

- 9.0 A.M. Help the cook prepare all puddings, rub bread-crumbs, chop suet, etc., peel all vegetables, three or four different sorts.
- 11.30 Put up several big hospital tables, arrange all chairs, etc., carry down everything for cloth from kitchen down a yard, with no protection from rain or snow, to a hall let for the purpose.
- 1.0 P.M. Carry down all courses for hot lunch, clear away everything, back again to kitchen, wait on officers at lunch.
- 3.0 Sweep hall and cloak-room, remove everything from hall, take down tables, sweep kitchen and passage, help cook with all the washing up.
- 6.0 Usually finished ; pay breaks.

TEMPORARY HELP AT A LODGING-HOUSE AT
BRIGHTON, WHERE MAID IS KEPT

Seven shillings sixpence (\$1.80) weekly and tips.

- 6.30 A.M. Rise.
- 7.0 Take up early tea for five people, hot water to carry up for seven or eight, sweep two big sitting-rooms, and dust, lay breakfast-cloths in both rooms (different floors).
- 9.0 Take up breakfast for seven people in one room and ten in the other. Get breakfast for staff and take in.
10. Clear away breakfasts, make beds with lady, empty all toilets, sweep and dust seven or eight bedrooms.
- 12.15 P.M. Lay cloths in both sitting-rooms, carry up lunch, clear away in between.
- 2.0 Wash up silver, knives, and glass.
- 3.0 Time allowed to wash and tidy.
- 3.45 Get tea for both sitting-rooms, also staff's tea, wash up, and clear away.
- 6.0 Take up hot water to bedrooms, turn down all beds, empty toilets, and fill jugs.
- 7.0 Lay cloths for supper, clear away, and wash up silver knives and forks.
- 10.0 Finished ; go to bed.

Seven shillings and sixpence, and " finished ; go to bed "—the Woman's Movement is in those words.

ENGLAND'S POLICEWOMEN

Long before the war the women had proved their case, but the door remained bolted. It was the war that broke down the door, and let a rush of women through into industries and professions. In a few months they altered the consciousness of England and won their spiritual freedom. The vote, industrial equality, control of their life, will inevitably follow. There are six hundred thousand of them making shells. An entire military hospital has been placed in their control and under their exclusive management—doctors, surgeons, orderlies, messengers, superintendents.¹ That was done by the War Office, which has never till recently been a radical innovator in England. The War Office is now issuing requests for women doctors. It finds them as steady in emergency, as delicate in nice manipulation, as their brothers. The old cant about physiological barriers has been broken down by the pressure of a million casualties. Women are driving heavy trucks, running elevators and trams, even managing places of business, including a bank.

As yet it is in large part the same millions of women who were earning wages before the war that have taken possession of the new activities. Probably not more than five hundred thousand women have stepped over from actual idleness into the day's work. But half a million is a large increase, and that half-million are only the vanguard of the army that will be conscripted by England's need of every adult for increased

¹Dr. Louisa Anderson and Dr. Flora Murray are in charge of this London military hospital with 575 beds.

production. The significance of the change does not lie as yet in the number of previously unemployed women who have entered wage-earning occupations. The significance lies in the new professions and the processes of industry which they have taken over. It lies in the work once closed to them, which is now opened for all time. A measure of freedom has been won that never existed before. Their right to play a part in the industrial and professional world had been challenged. Their presence in the modern economic world had been resented. Inside of three years woman has ceased to be a question, and has become an accepted fact.

It is a mistake to think that the hundreds of thousands of women who are helping to carry on industry while the young men fight were organized and engineered by new-comers, that a spontaneous uprising took place. The women who led the new movement into hospitals, munitions, the tram-cars, and the police were the seasoned executive women who had long been successful wage-earning workers in nursing and school teaching, women who had long fought for social reform in labour conditions, housing and the care of children. The amazing alteration in the economic and social position of women in England is not the work of amateurs. It is the sudden ripening of an immensely laborious, painfully slow growth.

Radicals have played the same part in the woman's movement that they have played in the labour movement. It is not that the mass agrees with them or likes them or follows them; but they have clarified

and given a coherence to vague subconscious desires of an inarticulate community. They have presented a sharply etched programme to a blind urge. Their clear-cut demands give the movement a coherence, a cutting edge. But those demands are not the woman's movement. They are merely the instruments with which it can work its will. When it has received its instruments, it will then proceed to do its work.

To change the figure, it is easy to see the portion of the iceberg that is above the water and visibly heaving down upon our man-made, man-favouring institutions. But seven-eighths of the mass is below the surface. The genius of the woman's movement lies deeply submerged under surface revolt, economic injustice, and resentment at man's unconscious scorn for the female mentality. The genius of the woman's movement lies in the imperious demands of her nature for worthy expression. Industry, like the suffrage, is a means by which she achieves her personal freedom and equality. It is a spiritual condition which she is seeking, not alone a new activity. Fame and money are not the supreme incentives to her that they are to man. For that reason her entrance into politics and work offers the promise of a humanized industry and a better state.

My own personal impression in the first half-year of the war was that the women were quicker to get started than the men. There was almost a scramble on the part of women of leisure to volunteer for relief work. The women solved the problem of Belgian refugees by taking them into their homes, by organizing

village colonies for them, by finding them work. A group of women saw the war in its meaning to Great Britain, the costliness of waging it, the immensity of the effort which would have to be put forth, long before the general public opinion of England was awakened.

Women have revealed adaptability in their war work. They have swung swiftly to meet new conditions and solve unexpected situations. A good instance of the service they have done England is that of their organization of a police force. War conditions had created certain perils to the community. The absence of the father away at the front is not a benefit to the children at home. Boys were running wild and thieving. Other boys were being overworked. Immense numbers of men on leave in great cities are a menace to the well-being of excitable girls. War creates its own atmosphere, and there were both a looseness and a tension, strange combination, in the life of khaki-clad England. A group of women saw the peril and had a remedy. Led by Miss Allen and Miss Damer Dawson, they formed the Women Police Service in August of 1914. There were half a dozen of them. The members have grown to six hundred and fifty, and they are now serving not only London, but Grantham, Bath, Carlisle, Oxford, Bexhill, Reading, Birkenhead, Huddersfield, Southampton, Glasgow, Hull, Folkestone, Wimbledon, and Richmond. There are two hundred and fifty vacancies waiting for trained policewomen. Their duties are patrolling, attendance at police courts, home visiting,

supervision of music-halls, cinemas, public dance-halls, and inspection of lodging-houses. They take the depositions of children and women, watch the parks, stations, and docks, meet Belgian refugees. At certain munition factories they keep the women's gate, searching the women, and permitting no stranger to enter.

Their uniform is a blue military tunic, divided skirt, riding-breeches, riding-bowlers, and top-boots. The chiefs wear peaked caps. Their organization is one of chief officer, superintendents, inspectors, clerical staff, sergeants, and constables.

When they made their start, fifty of them were drilled by a sergeant of police in a back yard of the suburb of Hornsey. The first town they worked in officially had a diocese of twenty-five thousand inhabitants and thirty thousand soldiers. Their work from the beginning has been more preventive than repressive. They handle trouble before it becomes a court case as well as after. They suggest solutions.

Commandant Damer Dawson, the chief officer, speaking of Leicester Square, the very heart of the night life of London, said :

Take, for instance, Leicester Square. You hear people say that Leicester Square is infested by "night hawks" and bullies and so forth, and that it is also infested by abominable women. No abuse has been spared. It has been poured upon the women who make a trade and living out of immorality, but very few have said a word about the other sex, which is bound to be connected with the life of the London streets. One might think that

there are only two classes of people on the London streets. the police and the prostitutes, and that the rest are innocent people. However, it is not for me to give you a lecture on the state of the London streets, except inasmuch as it touches our police work and our experiences night after night.

We find that things have very much changed since the war began, and are changing very quickly. Therefore you cannot possibly write to the papers or argue about any social condition which existed even a few months ago. You must go straight to the streets night after night and follow up cases as you find them ; and this is what you find. There are bullies there, both men and women bullies, but not to the same extent that there used to be, for this reason ; you have to deal with modern women on the streets, and you will find that the temptations thrown before these young women from the time that they are " flappers " is enormous. Mind you, they are light-hearted, aching for excitement, and they are non-moral. That is the result of social conditions. They have no moral training ; their parents give them none, and they have very little at school, and they have very little religious enthusiasm. Therefore they come out into the world non-moral. Nevertheless, they are exceedingly human, and determined to have a good time at all costs. They are mostly girls who have tasted the bitterness of life, girls among the five millions for whom there may not be a husband, and therefore they have got to make their own living.

Then there come thousands of men, with hundreds and thousands in money to spend, and the young women pay the price. Do you think they know the price, nine out of ten of them, the disease and the misery that are going to ensue ? Of course they do not know.

The policewomen are able to touch a certain fringe of this work. None of us can claim anything more; but we are able to act as a tremendous deterrent. In the first place, certain streets which we patrol at nights we are able to keep absolutely clear. Young officers, boys of seventeen and eighteen, who have hardly left their mothers, are taken to these streets by women who ought to know better; but when they see the policewomen they bolt. Ours is only patchwork, but it is a help. In a great many cases we are able to get hold of the young girls and to save them. Young girls and young men get to know us, and we move them on. The very fact that a policewoman is in the streets acts as a potent moral shame to what is going on.

I was very struck with an illustration of this which occurred the other day.

"Are they friends of yours?" said the policewoman to a couple of young fellows who had taken hold of two girls.

"How dare you!" said one of the men, quite furious. "Of course I know them; they are cousins."

"I am the wife of an officer," said the policewoman, "and as you are an officer wearing the king's uniform I take your word for it."

Ten minutes later the young officer overtook her and said, "They were not my cousins, and I thought you would like to know I am going home."

Any person of experience reading that knows that Miss Dawson and her co-workers have a broader and more fundamental knowledge of our modern social problems than the average male policeman. The only police method in dealing with the "social evil" has been that of repression and harrying, interwoven

with graft, and it hasn't advanced us any in the direction of a solution.

Take another instance. A serious fight was taking place between two drunken soldiers who should have been in camp. The men had taken off their coats to fight. The policewomen cleared the crowd, separated the fighters, persuaded them to put on their coats, shake hands, and return to camp. The old orthodox police method for such a fracas was a clubbing. The only test of a method is, Does it work? The new women's way works. Success has been their answer to tradition.

These new women officers have cut their way through red tape and obtained the power to act decisively and promptly. The military authorities have given them the right of entry into houses in certain restricted districts, so that they can take hold of a situation before a rumpus sets in. The policewomen observed a drunken soldier enter a house which they knew to be occupied by a woman whose husband had just left for the front. This house had been previously suspected by them. They fetched the military picket, who came at once to the house, and with some difficulty forced an entrance. The soldier was caught and arrested. Several children found in the house in a dirty and diseased condition were taken care of by the policewomen and handed over to the inspector. Before the picket could enter, the woman escaped by means of a trap-door which connected with three other houses.

These peace patrols have dug themselves into the

community. One of them is a probation officer. The police use her to interview women who are being "summoned." There was an entire city street in a row, like one of our before-the war Southern vendettas. Half the street had summoned the other half to court. The policewoman marched the whole street back home, and settled the case out of court.

A constant protective watch is kept over the lives of children. From time to time reports have reached the policewomen of young children of school age working excessive hours during the school week. It was decided to approach the headmasters of several schools, who welcomed help in the matter and promised detailed reports. In one district they found twenty-four paper-boys with hours varying from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 25 per school week. The beginning hour in the morning seems to be from 6 to 6.30 a.m., so that the majority of these children will be working without proper attention to food and habits. Many may go to school without any regular breakfast. Of these, two are eight years old, one getting up at six o'clock, the other at 6.30 a.m. ; one of them working $12\frac{1}{2}$ hours, the other $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours.

Twenty-two boys take milk around. Their ages vary from 8 to 13, their hours from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to $12\frac{1}{2}$ per school week, beginning work from 4.30 to 6 o'clock a.m. One boy of 8 works 20 hours a week beginning at 4.30 a.m. Two boys, 13, house-boys, work $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours. Two boys work in coal-yards ; one is 13 and works 19 hours per school week, beginning at 8 a.m. ; the other boy, aged 11, helps his father, and works 5 hours per school week.

The question of child-labour presents itself as one of the root problems of the hour for local as well as for national authorities. The police-women see some of the results of boy fatigue and malnutrition in the listless, uninterested young people standing and loitering about, ready to follow after any new excitement.

There are towns where no by-laws exist regulating the employment of children under fourteen. The question has been before the education authorities for many years, and the enforcing of certain drafted by-laws is likely to remain in *status quo* owing to war conditions. Employers prefer children to elderly labour, and many parents regard their offspring as financial assets. The work of these women guardians will result in a better protection of child life, because they have exposed the evil conditions. The police-woman is an official mother. She does not use physical violence. She talks with the boys about gambling and smoking and thieving. She warns the girls. There are no fixed posts. Often she covers an area of two and a half miles, as in the borough of Paddington.

War has let loose the high spirits of boys, and some of them, with the added stimulus of American films, have taken to the life of pirates. London streets are a tumbling sea of adventure, where grocers' carts are the helpless frigates to be manned and pillaged. The new women "cops" pull the boys off the carts, and advise them to let the tea and jam travel on unmolested.

This strange excitement of war touches the imagina-

tion till it sees placid planets as the product of German chemists. During one of the recent Zeppelin raids on the east coast, policewomen working in the town were instructed by the authorities to patrol the streets and do their best to prevent panic or crowds collecting. On coming upon a knot of excited people at a street corner the policewomen assured them that there was no further danger, as the Zeppelins had left and that every one could return home in safety. Some soldiers remonstrated, and said it was cruel to ask the women to take their children home. They pointed to a light in the sky, which they declared to be a bomb dropping. The women wept and begged not to be sent home. The policewomen calmed them, explaining that what the soldiers saw was no bomb, but the planet Venus rising in the sky, and persuaded the crowd to disperse quietly and the parents to take their tired children home.

All this soothing, daring work results from stiff training. These women go through two months of instruction in drill, first aid, special legal acts relating to women and children, and the procedure and rules of evidence in police courts. They are shown how to stand, to walk, and attain dignity of carriage, for a slouchy woman carries no authority. They are taught to talk clearly and avoid mumbling, so that their evidence will convince the court. They are told off to bring in reports on a tour of the streets: "Come back and tell what you have seen." This develops accuracy and power of observation. Patrolling in the public parks calls for patience to endure the monotony

of long, watchful waiting, keen insight to detect undesirable citizens who will endanger children at play, psychological skill in knowing the mental criminal, who works by stealth and loathes publicity.

Street work demands knowledge of the social features of the district, what to do with diseased and sick persons, where to send drunks. The authority must be broad-minded, using a warning word instead of arrest where the offence is petty.

Oversight in factories requires an officer type of woman who will keep the women smart and good tempered, who will deal justly with grumbles, and never bear a personal grievance.

The policewoman is different from the rescue-worker, the "missionary," and the social worker. She is a practical executive who cannot long delay with the one case, for there lies on her beat a mile of streets with a dozen other cases. She must show self-control and the willingness to hand over the problem to other agencies. Where her function ceases, there the mission of the social worker begins. In the ranks are nurses, medical women, school-teachers, women from government service, sanitary inspectors. Several matrons of infirmaries and hospitals are making good head officers because they are accustomed to leadership. The ages of policewomen run from twenty-five to forty-five. Between thirty and forty is the best age, because the woman is self-reliant, has conquered her hysterias, and is in full command of her powers. These women have succeeded because they have known how to avoid interference with the province of the men

police. They have practised a division of work. There was a city where a particular wooded lane had been a hanging-out place for fourteen years. Constables and the bishop had been powerless to alter conditions. Four policewomen walked the length of it, spoke to thirty-six couples, waited with backs turned till they had accepted the suggestion, and cleaned the place up.

“Which of you is the mother of the baby in the pink cap who has been left outside in the rain for twenty minutes?” asked a policewoman of a group drinking in a public-house. The mother had to come, because the opinion of the other guests was with the officer.

Two girls were reported by the police authorities to the policewomen as missing, one of them for fifteen weeks and the other for over five, and were suspected of living in some fields near a large camp. The policewomen on bicycles searched for them for two days, and finally discovered them in a filthy and starving condition and took them back to their parents. They have since applied to the policewomen to put them in touch with a home which deals with such cases.

England is a mixed democracy much like ours, with fine elements and ignoble elements. But these clear-eyed women of the police force, like the nurses and doctors, gave me an assurance that an immense, untapped resource is there to renew life after the wreckage of these years.

War has discovered them. Peace must continue to make use of them. England has need of them.

Undoubtedly to the student of peoples there was much that was dreary under the beauty and peace of the old England that existed before 1914; but what was most oppressive was the condition of women. Drunkenness and militancy were only two symptoms of a disease that was eating out the heart of an ancient civilization. Women were suppressed. They carried the consciousness of being caught in a social system that allowed no free play for instinct, intelligence, and energy, a system that forbade useful work, that silenced self-expression, that doomed the average middle-class woman to idleness under the mask of respectability, and the lower-class woman to drudgery. There comes a time with a theory when action is the only test, and British women have proceeded to put into practice their claims. I use the policewomen as an illustration of the new activity which has touched all classes. What I wish to show is not their isolated performance. What they have done is only one instance of the release of energy which has won spiritual freedom for the women of England.

CHAPTER IV

IRELAND

IRELAND OF THE FOUR GREEN FIELDS

I THINK that the most helpful view I can give of the Irish question is a simple record of my brief visit, with the talks I had with Irishmen. I have no solutions, but I have a real sympathy, and I believe that the way to better relationship lies in the creation of an atmosphere of sympathy, which will result in intellectual understanding. I write nothing here in a spirit of contention. I trust that no offence will be taken.

The Irish Rebellion had seemed to me a piece of strange, mystical futility. The failure of Ireland to be stirred by the plight of Roman Catholic Belgium had seemed to me a failure in idealism. The irreconcilable Irish in America had seemed to me a set of men "scrapping" volubly for the sake of words and dissension.

I found in Ireland a national aspiration that moved me as the French spirit of nationality has moved the world for now these three years. The proud and charming Irish people, with a culture, tradition, literature, race, religion, natural geographical unity, and economic system of their own, believe they have the

right to as full a measure of self-government as Canada possesses, including control of finances. Sane opinion in Ireland is well aware that in any solution Ireland remains inside the federation of the British commonwealth; but the status toward which the intelligent Irish work is that of a self-governing nation, like the free colonies.

Increasingly the present generation of Irishmen realizes that if old-age pensions, state insurance, land purchase, co-operative grants, the police, estates commission, and congested-districts board have to be paid for by controlled government and crippled autonomy, the answer is a refusal to accept their benefits. Ireland must pay her own way if subsidy implies control. "Irish expenditure should be limited by Irish revenue." This is one of the matters in which some of the older Irish political leaders have failed to represent the younger element.

A living element of young Ireland to-day is in revolt against these older leaders. The men who have patiently and self-sacrificingly fought for the rights of Ireland through long years are still in control of the Irish party at Westminster. A part of young Ireland is as weary of them as a city state once grew of Aristides. To debate the justice of this state of mind is to multiply words, but not to clarify the situation.

The young men believe that the ideas in control of Irish policy are the ideas of old men out of touch with present aspiration. These young men have determined that their own ideas shall prevail.

Tradition is the one essential element in nationality. Tradition is the memory of a common experience, the deposit of a common suffering for an idea. Of tradition Professor Ramsay Muir has written :

The most potent of all nation-moulding factors, the one indispensable factor which must be present whatever else be lacking, is the possession of a common tradition, a memory of sufferings endured and victories won in common, expressed in song and legend, in the dear names of great personalities that seem to embody in themselves the character and ideals of the nation, in the names also of sacred places wherein the national memory is enshrined.

A race of writers sprang up in Ireland who had fed on the ancient Gaelic sources. The Irish people rediscovered that they came of a race who had elected their chieftains and who had possessed the land communally. The legends of poets and saints and heroes were recalled to a racial imagination which is responsive, and that fine infection began to spread through the farms and cities. Ireland is not alone in this. She is only a sharer in a general mass consciousness. A movement of nature has operated throughout the modern world. No man can trace its source and origin. It marches irresistibly without visible leadership. It has taken control of a dynastic war, and made it a world war of peoples. It draws the scattered dry bones of Poland back into a living organism. It lifted the France of the Dreyfus Trial into the glory of the Marne and Verdun. It coalesced the quarrelsome individualism of England into the unified, victorious,

socialistic state. The expression of this world movement is local and intense in Ireland. What had lain slumbering in Irish consciousness began to burn with a bright flame of nationality, and all this emotion was gathering long before "The Rebellion." So much passion had to come through into action. Some Irishmen saw their outlet in resistance to the English campaign of recruiting. Others, an extraordinarily large number, saw the struggle of Belgium as their own struggle, and from the four provinces of Ireland, from Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, the United States, and Canada, enlisted. No one knows the exact number. From Ireland alone, 160,000 men came. From their new homes, perhaps an equal number of Irishmen volunteered. Strong currents moved in opposite directions.

One of the recruiting officers in Ireland told me of the experience he and his fellows had gone through.

"One of our men would come to a peasant's cottage. The men of the family had been sent by the women into the fields. In one case, the mother talked with the recruiting officer, while the grandmother made ready a pail of boiling hot water to throw on him. He stood aside just in time. At another cottage the woman started for him with a pair of tongs."

A still more passionate expression of passive resistance to war recruiting was given in the poem of "The Suppliant" (the suppliant is England pleading for Irish recruits).

“ When the hunger was on us she heeded not—
She did not grieve when our dead lay piled
Under the rank grave grasses to rot,
Husband and wife and child.

Nay, nay, she is still the same ; our woe
Knocks not at her heart, her eyes are dry ;
We are but slaves in her pathway, so
She would hurry us forth to die.

Mothers of Ireland, hold fast your own—
The child you have nursed on your bosom warm.

Mine own is mine, and at Ireland's need
I shall send him forth by her side to stand
(Blessing the day and blessing the deed)
With the steel in his good right hand.

Speak loud—that the suppliant Queen may know
Ireland's soul is unconquered still—
Speak loud—that the listening wind may blow
Your answer from hill to hill.”

Then came the Easter Rising. Its occasion lies in obscure incidents which are enveloped in a mist of charges and countercharges. But the cause was in the reawakened spirit of nationality. The outbreak was followed by the execution of the Volunteer leaders who had taken part. What had been the small movement of Sinn Féin, unknown to the immense majority of the Irish people, spread rapidly through large sections of the population.

To-day conscription can only be applied to Ireland by exterminating many thousands of their finest young men. “ No conscription ” is to them a sacred cause.

It is the expression of their nationality—the same cause for which English soldiers are fighting at Ypres in behalf of Belgium.

My experience in Ireland came to focus one evening when, with Robert Mountsier, I attended a No-Conscription meeting. The first speaker had advocated passive resistance. He had urged the young men to refuse to serve. He had told them to be thrown into prison. Then a young Irishman stood up, six feet of him. He was about twenty-five years of age. He spoke with humour and fire. He told why he and his comrades had made the famous Rebellion of 1916, although they knew it was hopeless. He told why he and his friends would come forward to die, if conscription were attempted. He said :

“I’ve chosen the lesser of two evils. I’ll fight. I don’t expect a long life. I’ve fought once. I’ll fight again. I was a Volunteer. I fought in Sackville Street. I’m an electrician. I get ninepence ha’penny an hour. But I never worked for ninepence ha’penny as I worked in Sackville Street for no pay at all. I work by the day, but not too much. My evenings I work for Ireland, and there is no money in that. I belong to a club in Dublin.

“I was a prisoner in Frongoch for three months. They put us in solitary confinement for three weeks. Solitary confinement is hard on the mind. But they never got to me. They never got to me, because I knew I was in it for Ireland. I’ll fight for Ireland, but not for England.

“Go to any country—Australia, America, anywhere

in the world, and they hate England. And they hate her for what she has done to Ireland. They hate her for those seven hundred years.

"The reason we rose was what we have suffered for seven hundred years. We have tried the way the speaker tells us of. We have been peaceful. The blood was getting rotten in our veins. We needed something to freshen us. The London *Times* wrote about MacDonagh and Pearse as if they were children, not knowing what they did. We knew what we were doing. I don't expect to come out of this alive. I haven't any rifle—that is, not now. But I know where there are a few. If they put conscription on us, we'll fight. We'll be fighting for Ireland. What use will 20,000 Irishmen fighting for England be to them? When we were fighting for Ireland, we did more work in six days than in twelve months. We knocked our way through brick walls. We built barricades. There was food, but we didn't take time to eat it. An Irishman works best when he's working for nothing, and when he is working for Ireland.

"I am a Christian, a Roman Catholic. I hate bloodshed. I saw a soldier go across the street, when we were fighting. I said to the man next me, 'See him.' He aimed his gun and shot him. But I couldn't shoot the man. I didn't want the sin on my soul. We don't want bloodshed. But is there any other way? We don't want the insult of conscription put on us."

The point is not that he rebelled last Easter, but that he will rebel again if England applies pressure.

Two thousand rose then, but twenty thousand will rise next time. The rebellion was only a bloody, unimportant riot, but Ireland to-day is in the most critical state since the 1850's. England can give a lasting peace, or she can let loose a slaughter which will spoil her memory of the costly and noble sacrifice in Flanders.

I have a book called "Songs and Poems of the Rebels, Who Fought and Died for Ireland in Easter Week, 1916." One of the songs reads :—

" They nailed their colours to the mast,
the Orange, White and Green,
A nobler set of Irishmen the world
has never seen :
They knew through sloth and idleness a
Nation's soul was lost,
They rose to save dear Ireland's soul and
counted not the cost.

They knew full well two thousand men—
they did not number more—
Could never break the tyrant's chain
and drive him from our shore ;
But this they knew, and knew it well,
they would not die in vain—
Their blood would save our country's
soul and give her life again."

One of the rebels as he went to Sackville Street said to a friend of mine, " I am going to the slaughter " (meaning his own death and that of his friends).

Pearse was shot by the military authorities. In his last letter to his mother he wrote :—

" You asked me to write a little poem which would seem to be said by you about me. I have written it, and one copy is in Arbour Hill Barracks, with the papers, and Father Aloysius is taking charge of another copy of it."

The poem is called " A Mother Speaks."

" Dear Mary, that did'st see Thy First-Born Son
Go forth to die amidst the scorn of men,
For whom He died,
Receive my first-born son unto Thy arms,
Who also had gone forth to die for men,
And keep him by Thee, till I come to him.
Dear Mary, I have shared Thy sorrow,
And soon shall share Thy joy."

One's opinion of these rebels is that their final place in history will be much like that of the Russian revolutionaries. In those men, Dostoevski found a " thirst for swift achievement." Of them he wrote :—

" A youth of our last epoch—honest in nature, desiring the truth, seeking for it and believing in it, and seeking to serve it at once with all the strength of his soul, seeking for immediate action, and ready to sacrifice everything, life itself, for it. Though these young men unhappily fail to understand that the sacrifice of life is, in many cases, the easiest of all sacrifices, and that to sacrifice, for instance, five or six years of their seething youth to hard and tedious study, if only to multiply ten-fold their powers of serving the truth and the cause they have set before them as their goal—such a sacrifice is utterly beyond the strength of many of them."

The Irish question is vastly more complex, more profound, than these noble young visionaries see it. To pay life's arrears in one moment of sacrifice is not to remedy the poverty of peasants, the distrust of Protestant Ulster, and the slums of Dublin and Cork. Clear thinking is necessary, large concessions, a forgiving state of mind, sound economic and sociological measures, a series of prosaic next steps. A sane trade-union policy, co-operation, education, religious tolerance, clean local politics are demanded to free Ireland from poverty and dissension. Some of this ground-work is already being done. Much is still required. In the Anglo-Irish question there are many points of resemblance to that of capital and labour. Just as the lot of labour has grown steadily better through recent generations, so the condition of Ireland is improving year by year. There have been extensions of justice. Ameliorative agencies are at work. Only four years ago Erskine Childers,¹ the protagonist of Home Rule, wrote :

A great change has taken place in the condition of Ireland during the last nineteen years. We all know its main characteristics, and I need only summarize the result. By contrast with her situation in 1893, Ireland may be said to be completely tranquil and comparatively prosperous. More than half the tenants of Irish land are on the road to freehold ownership ; the rest have their rights guarded and their rents limited by law. The great cardinal land reforms, late, terribly late, though they came, laid the foundations of a new social

¹ See also " The Framework of Home Rule," by Erskine Childers.

order, and rendered possible a change for the better in every phase of national life. Though all work not done by Ireland herself for her own good must necessarily be defective, we may frankly admit that both English parties in recent years have endeavoured to do their best in limited directions to repair the frightful ravages wrought by past misgovernment. The extension of local government to Ireland, focussing the minds of Irishmen upon many of their own local problems, has powerfully contributed to the improvement. Decent, healthy dwellings are replacing the old mud cabins of the labouring classes. There is a National University ; there is a central department, with popular influence behind it, for safeguarding and stimulating agriculture and industry. Nearly three millions of money are distributed in Old-Age Pensions. Economic serfdom has disappeared. A load of exorbitant rent, and a still heavier load of haunting insecurity, have been removed. The spirit is freer, the physical welfare greater. Production is slowly increasing, and commerce is slowly expanding.

The national university in the great Irish cities has been a belated, but now partly efficient, piece of justice. These colleges carry on scientific research to further industrial development. There is training adapted to the needs of the locality. Trinity produces young doctors, lawyers, and literary men known throughout the English-speaking world. The Irish land commission, the estates commission, the congested-districts board, labour in their own way to restore the land to the peasant proprietors and to give them decent lodging. The department of agriculture and technical

instruction for Ireland informs the peasants in modern methods of agriculture and the development of horticulture. The Irish Agricultural Organization Society is the long official name for the co-operative society of which Sir Horace Plunkett is president, which has 1023 societies, 350 creameries, 95 auxiliary creameries, 233 credit societies, 222 agricultural societies, and a membership of 106,301 persons. The annual turnover amounts to nearly £7,000,000. The local government board has given Ireland an increasing opportunity in self-government. Industrially Ireland builds ships, makes linen, whisky, stout, ginger-ale, agricultural implements, biscuits. Agriculturally she raises food-stuffs and exports cattle, sheep, horses, butter, eggs. Agriculture and its direct connections engage over seventy per cent. of her business, industry less than thirty per cent.

The institutions of education and executive management, the governmental and voluntary departments, the returning prosperity of her forming community, the growing wealth of industrial Ulster—all these are making Ireland a better place to live in than it was in the nineteenth century. Ireland is not going down. She is coming up, and all that improvement is without reference to the Home Rule question.

In the literary world Ireland is very much on the map. I saw three groups of Irish players, at the Abbey Theatre, the Empire, and the Irish Theatre in Hardwicke Street. These groups gave six plays, containing accurate observation of life and a dramatic idea, rendered with a charm of interpretation. There

is to-day no dramatic growth so native and racy in America or England. The Irish writers and poets are among the best in our language. Lady Gregory, Yeats, James Stephens, A. E., Katharine Tynan, Dora Sigerson and Dunsany, are worthy representatives of a creative tradition. These poets and prose writers are not like those of England and New England, men speaking a literary dialect unrelated to the aspiration of the mass of the people. The Irishmen of talent are giving a voice to their race. Irish art is a national expression.

The Irish are a religious race, wherein they differ from the Americans, French, and English of this generation. Unionists and Nationalists are believers. This fundamental conception of life colours their education, literature, and political ideas. For this reason, as well as for many other reasons, it is impossible for an outsider to legislate for them. No policy that omits the sacramental view of life can survive in this land of simple and profound faith.

Such are a few aspects of a community as varied and delightful as I have ever visited. Now I return to my analogy of capital and labour. With each increase of well-being, the labouring classes have only struggled the harder for further gains. They aim at a share in control, not at well-fed contentment in a benevolent industrial autocracy. It is so with the Irish. They have made astonishing gains since 1893.

"Now, we know very well what the Unionists are saying about this improvement," writes an Irish scholar. "They are saying that it has not only

removed the necessity for Home Rule, but weakened the desire for Home Rule."

But the very improvement—improvement in education, in agriculture, in self-government—has only heightened the self-consciousness and intensified the nationality of Ireland. It would be nonsense to say to-day that Ireland is "completely tranquil." Granting that the basic problems are those of self-development, a wise economic policy, a general compulsory education, a co-operation in every department of community life, instead of the present dissension, which cuts efficiency into small wrangling bits, yet the fact remains that the central cause of unrest, the creator of difference, is the feeling of political servitude.

Ireland is in part governed under local home rule, and in part is governed at Westminster, London, and in the English "garrison" of Dublin Castle.

"Its centre is outside its circumference," as a brilliant Irish novelist said to me.

"As the result of that," he went on to say, "the best of the Irish have gone to England for a career, and Ireland lost them for ever. The English have been able to buy Irish brains over the counter, as you buy a ham."

The foreign Government robs Ireland of her native leaders. It does more than that. It creates a chronic state of exasperated nerves. It introduces emotion into what are matter-of-fact questions requiring cold thinking. It results in a political quarrel between the Department of Agriculture and the Co-operative Society. Flax raising and the increase of tillage are

hotly contested in the atmosphere of an historic quarrel.

The study of the Gaelic language is by some regarded as the hope of Ireland and by others as the mother of rebellion. A good-natured reference to Protestants was interpreted by the man sitting behind me in the Empire Theatre as an attack on Presbyterianism, and he shouted out his resentment. The trail of political division is over every cell of the national consciousness. Not one of Ireland's pressing problems can be solved in the present atmosphere. The Germans have found that their installation of education and economic organization did not win the friendship of the Belgians, who wish one thing—to be free of their benefactors. So, in the play of "The White-headed Boy," which I saw at the Abbey Theatre, one of the characters sums up the mistaken treatment of the hero.

"We've been like the damned English," he says, "We gave the boy money and education, and ran his life for him. We gave him everything but the one thing."

That one thing is liberty.

"That play is the parable of Ireland," said an Irish editor to me.

In the formative years of my life I was educated by an Englishman, an Oxford man. For nine years an Englishwoman has been a member of my household. Much of my spare time in the last sixteen years has been spent in England—eight visits, and a residence of two years at one time. I don't pretend to generalize, but I do claim the right to record personal impressions

that are based on a fairly wide observation and experience. I find the largest measure of personal liberty in England of any country which I have visited. The masses in England are among the kindest people known to me. And this well-nigh general kindness and this belief in the rights of the individual man have made England a champion of freedom and justice, for freedom and justice are the social expression of individual good-will and of reverence for personality. But England in Ireland is not the genial democracy safeguarding the liberty of the individual. England in Ireland is a race of officials, politicians, and traders, unlovely creatures at best, and very irritating when turned loose on a race of different blood and belief.

Edward Carpenter says of his people :

The leaden skies of England, and something (if I may say so) rather gray and leaden about the people, have since my early days had the effect of making me feel not quite at home in my own country. I longed for more sunshine, and for something corresponding to sunshine in human nature—more gaiety, vivacity of heart, and openness of ideas.

In dealing with an unsuppressed, graceful, and charming race like the Irish, the Englishman is at a hopeless disadvantage. The mental alertness of the Irish, the flow of language, the swift responsiveness of mood, leave him shy and inarticulate, and, out-pointed at every thrust, he takes refuge in his heaviness. The result is offence given and received. It is the tragedy of the English that, kindly and honour-

able as they are, they have established no real relationship with the most exquisitely imaginative people in the world.

Internationally it is of high importance that the Irish question shall be swiftly settled right. There will never be a thorough understanding and goodwill between England and the United States until the Irish mess is cleared up. The German King of England and his Hessians in the Revolutionary War, and the divided English sympathy in the Civil War, are only rhetorical resorts of certain of our American Congressmen. But Ireland is a living irritant.

Just now England is in the most bitter warfare of her thousand years. It is humanly impossible for her to turn aside from the work in front of her to solve the wrong inside her commonwealth. To shout her down is to strengthen her enemy at the moment of combat, and her enemy is the enemy of the human race. To weaken her is to weaken the last defence against that force which would destroy nationality throughout Europe. So the cause of Ireland, like that of exploited labour and suppressed women, must wait the greater decision to the east. But when peace comes, the turn of Ireland comes, and she will be heard at the "round table" of the imperial conference. The same cause for which the English die in Picardy in the noblest war of their history awaits their chivalrous response across the Irish Sea. A little nation desires to be free. In the final judgment of men England's greatness in this day will be measured by the treatment she metes to Ireland.

YOUNG ENGLAND SPEAKS

At my request, one of the younger English statesmen has written this reply to the foregoing chapter :

If the Irish question has to be solved at all, it has to be solved by young England and young Ireland together. The very fact, admitted by all sane opinion in Ireland—that Ireland must remain inside the federation of the British commonwealth—means that the solution is a common and mutual one which cannot in the nature of things be decided by the unaided efforts of Ireland herself. For one thing, take the question of finance. Perhaps the most urgent problems in Ireland are the social reforms which can be carried through only by the expenditure of money. Not only would an absolutely independent Ireland be unable to devote money to new reforms, but she would even have to reduce many of the social expenditures now existing under the heads of old-age pensions, state insurance, congested-districts board, etc. Young Ireland says that she will reduce her expenditure and limit it by her own revenue rather than accept a subsidy from England implying English control. Young England, on the other hand, is obliged to reply, in words familiar to American political thought, that a subsidy from England to Ireland without some control would be taxation of the English people without representation, and is, therefore, constitutionally unthinkable as anything like a permanent arrangement. But the actual constitutional counterpart of payments between states united in the same federated commonwealth

is a matter of adjustment which need not imply any loss of independence or self-government. The only thing necessary to the creation of such constitutional machinery is mutual consultation.

And somewhere here lies the real tragedy of the Irish Rebellion. Young England—the England that was finding itself in “The Round Table,” in the Workers’ Educational Association, and to a certain extent even in the Unionist Social Reform Committee—had, before the war, become inexpressibly weary of the atmosphere in which the Anglo-Irish question was carried on at Westminster. They knew not only the failure of English government in Ireland, but also the souring and clogging effect of the Irish party at Westminster upon the Government of England. They, in common with many well-known Irishmen in Ireland who had cut themselves off from political factions during the last fifteen years—the Plunketts, the Mounteagles, the Russells—recognized men like Connolly and the whole young Irish party, whose aspirations you have described, as far more competent to deal with the problem in a fundamental way than the Nationalists at Westminster. Such members of young England found their ideas best summed up by that poem in which A. E. confesses “the golden heresy of truth.” They really thought that out of young Ireland was growing a party with whom they could work in the immediate introduction of Home Rule within a federated British Empire which more than anything else satisfied their longing for a comprehensive policy.

Such men, cast down into the depths by the bickerings of July, 1914, rejoiced to see their hopes confirmed by the sweeping change in England which followed the outbreak of war—by the obliteration in all but a few journalistic and parliamentary circles of the old pre-war contests.

The hopes of this young England, which is now to a man in the trenches or in Government departments absorbed in the overwhelming duties of war, have been cheated much as the hopes of those young American enthusiasts who in 1911, during the Lawrence strike, hailed the syndicalists and Giovanitti as truer representatives of the aspirations of labour than the older trade-unions, have been soured and destroyed by the petty bitterness and futility of "The Masses."¹ But the disappointment was far more deadly. The Irish Rebellion was to them the stab in the back from just the people with whom they felt best able to co-operate after the war, and it was a stab all the more fatal because young England did not lose its respect for leaders like Connolly. They still say they would rather have seen Ireland under the government of a man of this stamp than ten men from the Ulster army or from the orthodox Nationalist party.

The average man in the street in England to-day, so far from wishing to govern Ireland, has only one idea, to clear out of Ireland as quickly as possible. Ireland to him is not a field for the administrative qualities of the English any more than Quebec or the Transvaal. It is a field for their political qualities.

¹ An American periodical of socialist and pacifist thought.

It is a part of the self-governing empire, not one of the dependencies ; it is a nation of equals, co-authors with the English of the British Empire, co-settlers and comrades-in-arms, not a "backward race." Young England insists that, while a despairing severance of relations between England and Ireland in the spirit of Joan of Arc "as to the peace with the English, the only one possible is that they should go back to their own country in England," though it would be better than the present situation, would be as futile and unnecessary as Lee in 1861 believed the severance of Virginia from Massachusetts. There is no need for Ireland to starve herself of money in the belief that a federal government at Westminster must mean loss of self-government in Ireland. And just because Ireland is not a backward race or merely a wronged race, young England cannot be content with the application to her of the policy of Indian reformers in the United States, "Give the Indian his portion and clear out."

The only thing that could prevent the inevitable righteous and peaceful settlement of the Irish question would be a feeling in young England that the Irish revolutionists have gained applause not for all their aspirations and policies with which young England ardently sympathized, but for the last mad mistake which led young Ireland to desert the cause of liberty at the very moment of Verdun. It is this applause coming from America—the bitterness of Roman Catholic pulpits in Boston and Chicago, the railings of mass meetings in New York, the irresponsible perorations

of Irish-American politicians—that chiefly threatens the future of Ireland. Young England saw a vision before the war, and that vision has been confirmed by the sufferings of the war. Young England will come back from the trenches few (how few!) in numbers, but with new determination for the future. They cannot and will not accept from America that last and worst doctrine of reaction, the doctrine of Lot's wife, who, looking back on a past already redeemed, remained a pillar of bitterness for all future generations.

THE SIAMESE TWIN

To talk about Ireland and omit Ulster is to construct an algebra by omitting x . A portion of Ulster is resolutely determined to stay outside Irish self-government. This section is friendly to England, is in favour of British rule in Ireland, is Protestant, and is industrially a powerful community. To go into the history of this division would be barren, so I pick up the situation as it is to-day. A large number of young Irish Nationalists wish the coming Ireland to be a seamless garment, one and indivisible. A famous song in Ireland is that of Thomas Davis, "A Nation Once Again":

And then I prayed I yet might see
Our fetters rent in twain,
And Ireland, long a province, be
A nation once again.

The phrase "a nation once again" is as famous in Ireland as "government of the people" among Americans. When the plan of excluding certain

counties of Ulster fell through, the sentiment of young Nationalist Ireland turned against any compromise which would omit any part of Ireland from Home Rule, and the song was parodied "Three Quarters of a Nation Once Again."

A farcical skit was recently produced at the Abbey Theatre in Dublin, called "Partition." It shows a house lying exactly on the border-line of Ulster and Leinster, so that one half the house is in each province. ("There is a village," says the programme, "half of which would be under the proposed Home Rule jurisdiction and the other half under the control of the Executive for the excluded counties.") Andy Kelly, who lives in the house, shifts his furniture to the Ulster side when the Home Rule bailiffs come to sell him up. When both sets of bailiffs come, he draws a chalk mark, and piles his household stuff in the centre of the room. A fine scrap breaks out between the representatives of the two governments. Andy's summary of the situation is this :

"I'm a Siamese twin. I'm a sort of a two in wan, an' now look here, it's the queerest thing—what kind of a hole would ye be in if wan of the twins was to steal somethin' an' maybe th' other lad as innocent as a baby, shure ye couldn't cut them in two an' ye couldn't put both o' them in jail wid wan o' them maybe provin' an alibi."

The play ends with "General fighting, furniture all over the place, women screaming. The village cornet-player is heard in the distance playing 'A Nation Once Again.'" As the curtain falls, Andy says,

"Begobs the Siamese twins will be kilt and buried in the wan coffin."

Professor John MacNeill, who was head of the Irish Volunteers before the Easter Rising, wrote concerning the Ulster *cul de sac* :

"I urge the Irish people to permit no surrender on the partition question."

And these are his reasons :

Politically speaking, Ulster is made up of a compact Nationalist West in Donegal, a less intact Unionist East in Antrim and Down, with two great Nationalist limbs and two great Unionist limbs alternately lying almost from side to side of the province. If you take two of those horseshoe-shaped breakfast rolls and dovetail one into the other, you will have a rough approximate plan of political Ulster.

The partition of Ulster would give rise to a state of things for which one would have to go to the Balkan peninsula under the Disraelian "settlement" for a parallel.

If you cut the more compact areas of the Plantation off from Ireland *de jure* and *de facto*, you will make a real enemy of their inhabitants, and arm them with greater powers of mischief than they have ever possessed since the days when the old race and the new were at open war. You would have a recognized Lesser Britain, and a lesser Britain *irredenta* stretching right through the heart of Ulster, with kinsmen and sympathizers all over Ireland. What opportunities for a lively time! And the Ireland *irredenta* made fast in the midst of the British territory would not be behindhand.

If Catholic and Protestant roughly correspond in Ireland to Nationalist and anti-Nationalist,

there must be some other cause than religious sentiment operating through religious sentiment to create national disunion.

The Ulster Unionist has been taught to regard himself as a full-blooded Teuton and his Catholic neighbour as a full-blooded Celt. It is not a fact of race, but an illusion of race, that makes Ulster Unionists pro-British and anti-Irish.

There are not two Irish nations. A foreign "faction" is a familiar feature in many a national history. We have in the Irish nation of to-day a foreign faction. I have found myself in Belfast right in the zone of fire between two stone throwing mobs, one Catholic, and the other Protestant. Nobody will persuade me that either Irish nationality or British supremacy was the spirit that projected those showers of missiles. It was simple primitive savagery with religion for an excuse and politics for a super-excuse.

Suppose we Nationalists declare every man who uses anti-Protestant party cries, or in any way interferes with Protestant demonstrations, to be the worst enemy of his country's cause. I would begin the task of persuasion with the economic unity of Ireland as the main argument. Once Ireland ceases to be a goose to be plucked, it will be impossible to persuade the English people to charge themselves any longer with responsibilities for her internal affairs. With the excess of Irish taxation once down, the burden of Irish internal administration would have been unshouldered by the British Parliament. Home Rule without financial reform is a mere fantasy. So long as Ireland consents to pay Great Britain three millions a year clear profit for being misgoverned, so long will the Unionist Party succeed in persuading the British elector to make no rash changes. It is

safe to say that one-tenth is drawn out of the city of Belfast alone, and one-fifth is filched from the Unionists of Ulster. The question for Nationalists is the money question. The country will soon want to know what its political leaders are going to do about this appalling robbery. No self-government worth having will ever be gained except by the previous victory of a practically united Ireland over British spoliation.¹

I give his analysis in detail, because it is the clear expression of a widespread, subconscious desire of Irish Nationalists for a united Ireland. James Stephens,² the charming Irish writer whose "Crock of Gold" and "Here Are Ladies" are known to American readers, says in interpreting the desire of Ireland to assume control of her national life :

This ideal of freedom has captured the imagination of the race. It rides Ireland like a nightmare, thwarting or preventing all civilizing or cultural work in this country.

And the way to obtain freedom he gives :

The safeguards which Ulster will demand, should events absolutely force her to it, may sound political or religious, they will be found essentially economic, and the root of them all will be a water-tight friendship with England. We must swallow England if Ulster is to swallow us.

Opposed, then, to the idea of an Ulster bitterly hostile to any form of union with the rest of Ireland,

¹ Compare the Final Report of the Financial Relations Commission of 1896 on the taxation of Ireland.

² See "The Insurrection in Dublin," by James Stephens.

we have the plan of a colonial self-government for Ireland inside the British commonwealth, with a guaranteed friendliness of relationship with England and with Ulster.

How to obtain this in practice? An answer was given to me by A. E. A. E. is the greatest living "pure" Irishman. By his "purity" I mean that he has lived his life in Ireland instead of crossing the channel for his career like Shaw. Many Irishmen of talent have transplanted themselves where fame and power and the delightful contacts of a prosperous civilization can be had on easy terms. But Paris and New York and London have piped in vain to George Russell. Poet, dramatist, journalist, editor, painter, essayist, prophet of co-operation, organizer—he has carried on his various and vital activities in his homeland. "A. E. is the one great thing left to us besides the Nelson 'Pillar,'" said James Stephens to me. Russell writes one of the richest and most perfect prose styles of the present day, and he has devoted that technique to the production of "The Homestead," an organ of the Irish co-operative movement. Very literally he stands on Irish soil, and speaks to the peasant population. He is fifty-one years old, with the laughter and generous heart of a boy, and he will die with all his fine hopes in him. There is something chivalrous about him, something young and fierce and burning. His face is the face of the portrait of William Morris: the abundant beard, the living eyes, the look of the mystic who puts his dreams into action. He is the same sort of many-handed, many-minded

man. This is the way out of the English-Ulster-Nationalist muddle as he sees it and as he gave it to me. To get the full drive of it, one must see the bulky, shaggy man, simpler and more human than most men, with fun and vitality in his talk. He said to me : ¹

The Irish question is not only national, but involves questions of international economics. Irish linen is sent over the world. Belfast ships are sold to British and American buyers. Belfast ginger-ale is sold in California. Industrial Ulster fears the laws that would be passed in a legislature where seventy-five per cent. of the members would be representatives of small farmers, men whose views are parochial and who have no knowledge of the intricate problems manufacturers engaged in international trade have to solve. Irish Nationalists ought to meet those views, and prove to Ulster that her trade interests would not be prejudiced in an Irish parliament, and give real and not verbal guarantees on this point. Protestant Ulster fears religious discrimination in a parliament which might be three-quarters Roman Catholic. The most powerful political organization in Ireland, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, is a sectarian and semi-secret society of which no Protestant can be a member. Ulster has some reason to be troubled. When we consider Home Rule for Ireland, there are five things which must be considered :

1. The point of view of Great Britain. Great Britain will always rightly demand that Ireland be friendly to the imperial alliance. It is clearly impossible that England should allow an unfriendly power to have freedom for independent action in Ireland.

¹ See also A. E.'s pamphlet, " Thoughts for a Convention."

2. The point of view of the Irish Nationalists. They desire the political unity of Ireland, and will not have partition. They desire full Irish control over the trade policy and over taxation. Until they win that full control, they will have continuous agitation and there will be unfriendly feelings between the two countries.

The point of view of Ulster in the following matters :

3. Ulster requires assurances that the self-governing Ireland she enters into will be friendly to Great Britain. Ulster carries on an immense trade with England. She builds ships for England. She exports linen and other goods. She has orders from great shipping firms and from the Admiralty. These orders would not go to a self-governing Ireland with nagging, unfriendly politicians in control, and Ulster's trade would decline. She could be crippled economically by race hatreds expressed in an Irish parliament.

4 and 5. Ulster demands guarantees both economic and religious as to her own position in a self-governing Ireland. The Nationalists should meet Ulster on all these points. It should be demonstrated to her that under Home Rule Ireland will be friendly to Great Britain, and just to the religious and industrial life of Ulster. Nationalists, in my opinion, should offer Ulster political power equal to her economic power. This might be arranged partly by proportional representation by dividing Ireland into twelve great constituencies, so that the Protestants could return members from districts where they are now without a representative. I suggest also that the senate, or upper house, should have a veto power for a certain number of years until the traditions of government were fixed, say ten or twelve years, and that a

majority of members in the senate for that time should be nominated by Ulster. We have a model in the Canadian senate, which is always packed with a majority adverse to the party in power. This is accomplished by permitting the party in power to nominate vacancies in the senate. The party coming in finds a majority of the opposing party in the senate, and the old party so retains a measure of control. The Irish senate might be formed on the assumption that Irish Unionists had gone out of power and had left the senate packed with a two-thirds majority of their party. Such a device could not be continued indefinitely because it is not democratic. But use that method for ten or twelve or even fifteen years until the political tradition of self-government had become fixed and Ulster is reassured. For the Irish question, we need a psychological solution, because in the years of dissension the people have tied their souls into knots. I am sure the Ulster men would not use the power of veto against national interests for the period they were given it.

Sir Edward Carson has said that what Ulster feared was not bad law-making. "What we do fear is oppressive administration." They fear that public offices will be packed with friends of the party in power, that the policy of "to the victors belong the spoils" will be practised. It is necessary to reassure Ulster that all public posts would be removed from jobbery, and that merit should have its open chance of winning promotion. The way to do this is to make all Government positions, all posts paid for out of public moneys, whether under boards of guardians or county councils, part of a national civil service, so that jobbery on account of religion or politics would be impossible. Along these lines of concession and balance of power

I do not regard the special Ulster problem as insoluble.

England should make the Irish question a national question with herself, not a party question. Whenever war is on, a coalition government is formed. So it should be in dealing with Ireland. Ireland should be treated by a coalition of forces in England, considering its Irish polity as a national question. If Ireland were so dealt with, the opposition of Ulster to settlement would lessen.

The present method of splitting Ireland and misgoverning it has led to a reduction of its population by one-half in seventy years. That is bad for Ireland and it is bad for England, because Ireland's exiles in other countries develop bad feeling against England.

There are only two ways to deal with Ireland, either complete union, with absolute equality, or else complete Irish control of purely Irish affairs. The Home Rule bill as passed would not settle the question, because it does not grant to Ireland the fixing of taxation and the trade policy. Whoever has financial and economic control of a people fixes the character of the civilization of that people. There is no British reason for passing a Home Rule bill unless to settle the question. Either England must control Ireland by making Irish people into English people in sentiment and culture, or else she must grant to Ireland the status of a dominion. England must retain control of military, naval, and foreign policy. Let Ireland send representatives not to the British Parliament, but to the new imperial parliament, which is certain to be formed after the war. Let her pay her contribution to imperial defence prepared by assessors appointed for that purpose by Great Britain and the dominions. What we should aim at is a kind of Sinn Fein

imperialism, a complete control of internal affairs and a participation in the empire's polity.

The feeling for complete independence had gradually been dying down to a romantic feeling such as Scotchmen feel for Prince Charlie. Then came the Ulster and Nationalist Volunteers, the recruiting campaign, the rebellion, the executions, martial law, and the old feeling rose up again. It has become an intolerable nuisance not to have these political questions settled. I think myself too much importance is attached to the location of government, and I have myself more hope in voluntary economic and cultural movements than in Acts of Parliament. But with the present political unrest, there is no fixed policy in the economic life of Ireland. Business men wish a fixed policy. They wish to have more certitude in business matters. If Ireland was contented, it could turn to the problems of internal government. We have over two thousand national teachers paid less than thirty pounds a year. The money has been put on the constabulary, which is overmanned. A government has its choice of leaving people ignorant and spending money on a police force to keep them in order or of educating them and cutting down the constabulary. England plumped for the police. No country can govern another country properly, and never has any country done so. Countries can unite with another in a federation, but no country can rule another. You see the attempt made by Germans and Russians in Poland. But it can only succeed by exterminating the people governed. The plantations in Ireland were an attempt at that.

In the last one hundred years Ireland lost the power to speak Gaelic. Only 600,000 of her people speak the language to-day. And yet

Gaelic literature contains the dreams and soul of the Irish people for two thousand years. It is one of the oldest and most beautiful literatures in Europe. That lost race memory is a loss in the dignity and spirituality of their life. Imagine the Greeks without Homer. So it has been of late with the Irish in the loss of their national literature—legends and poetry. The Irish do not read English literature nor have they accepted English culture. That ancient literature of theirs ran like an underground river for the last century till it came welling up again in Standish O'Grady, Stephens, Yeats, and Synge. There is a reshaping of legendary tales, and Anglo-Irish literature will be powerfully affected. Gaelic schools have sprung up. O'Grady and Synge knew Gaelic. Padraic Colum knows it. Stephens can read it. MacDonagh and Pearse knew it. The Celtic spirit of Ireland is emerging in the poems and tales of modern Anglo-Celtic literature which are as acceptable to Ulster as to the rest of Ireland.

A. E.'s solution, then, is to clear the political question by concession and guaranty, to forget it, and to get down to business—the business being co-operation. Is this the dream of Ireland's most glorious dreamer, or is there salvation that way?

I left Mr. Russell, and stepped downstairs in Plunkett House to the executive offices of the co-operative movement.

"While the gun-running was on," said one of the co-operative organizers to me, "our movement was including both parties in the fight. Carson's men were arming themselves, and the Volunteers were arming against them. But both sets were working together

in our society. Each had their guns buried with which to shoot the other, but they were busy in one creamery; working in harmony, and pooling their economic life. They differ politically, but their interests are one."

POVERTY: THE REAL IRISH QUESTION

The real Irish question is poverty.¹ Agricultural labour receives less than three dollars a week. The tenant and owner and labourer, when averaged up, receive only \$3.50 a week. Even the brief and dubious money gains of war-time are not an offset for depreciated "plant," and the stock of cattle and equipment of agricultural utensils are steadily depreciating in these days of an increased export trade. The slums of Irish cities are among the worst in Europe. Dublin is known as the "one-room city," because about sixty thousand of her people are congested. Industrial labour is underpaid. Preferential through rates on the railroads have given Irish markets to English producers.² Many of the farms are too small for economic

¹ The reader who doubts this statement should consult the Report of the Departmental Committee (L.G.B. for Ireland) on the Housing Conditions of the working classes in Dublin; the Board of Trade returns on the earnings and hours of workpeople; the report, pamphlets, leaflets and articles issued under the auspices of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society by George Russell, Sir Horace Plunkett, Lionel Smith-Gordon, and Cruise O'Brien; and the series of articles during the latter months of 1916 in the "Freeman's Journal," written by "Agricola." Other detailed facts on which this chapter is based are given in the appendix under the heads of "Irish Railways" and "Irish Agriculture." See also the Final Report of the Financial Relations Commission of 1896.

² A thorough analysis of the reactionary railway policy in Ireland is given in the Fifth Report of the Vice-Regal Commission on Irish Railways.

working, and what there is of them is not good enough soil. Much of the best tillage remains in the hands of the landlords, and is used for grazing instead of for the production of crops. The hope of Ireland lies in trade-unionism, education, and co-operation. Ireland's real problem is to increase production and distribute prosperity.

I found Ireland stimulated by the report that Henry Ford was planning a factory in Cork. He was said to have taken an option on a race-course, to plan the diversion of the river, and to guarantee a minimum wage of over a pound a week to his workers. The story ran that he had visited his mother's birthplace in Cork, and that out of the personal tie grew his plan to revive the industrial life of Ireland. If the very rumour has given cheer to an underpaid population, how much new hope will flow in if Irish-Americans, whose hearts bleed for Ireland, will invest some of their money in Irish agriculture and industry. A few million dollars invested where their heart is will relieve a pressure on Ireland, which to-day is resulting in bad housing, under-nourishment, overwork, and an undue proportion of pauperism. The real Irish question is not solved by political wrangling and chronically jangled nerves inside the island, or by hot temper at long distance. The Irish-Americans who have planted the tradition of Ireland's wrongs in the United States are two generations out of date. If they would get into touch with young Ireland, they would find they were chewing over stale grievances which the march of thought has long passed by. They are as

much out of date as Marxian socialists. The present campaign is based on concrete issues, requiring a record of facts, and organization. American money is not needed for nationalistic propaganda. It is needed for agricultural and industrial development. Our rich Irish-Americans can do an immense service to Ireland. They can aid to set her free, but not by parliamentary debates, speech-making campaigns, and pitiful, abortive rebellions. They can set her free by standing security for land improvement,¹ better housing, the purchase of machinery and fertilizer plants.

Had the Irish question been settled (by the Irish question I must insist that I mean not the comic-opera politics of gun-running, but the agricultural and industrial redemption of Ireland), this war would have been an easier task for England. The submarine blockade would have been a minor factor. Ireland's natural market is England. England is on an industrial basis, and needs the food-stuff of an agricultural country like Ireland. Every mistake England has made in the long past in Ireland has cost her severely in money and lives in this war. A unified, economically prosperous Ireland could have fed England in large measure, and left her free to raise her army and make munitions, and the submarine would have been powerless to touch one shipload of produce plying across the Irish Channel. As it is, England has had to buy her supplies from several nations, and the long sea-haul has been over open waters where the submarine has

¹ See Appendix, "Irish Agriculture."

sunk an ever-growing number of food-ships. By postponing the settlement of Ireland's status as an autonomous nation inside the British commonwealth, England has lessened her own food-supply and lengthened the war. As long as Ireland is politically in a fever, she refuses to settle down to her real job of mastering the conditions of her own life, which will be determined by better land and more land, better methods of cropping, fertilizers, machinery, labour supply, organization for producing and selling, and railroad facilities. There would be little value in writing one more contentious article on Ireland. So with the charges of a national incompetency and inefficiency, which those who deny self-government to Ireland allege as the ground for their denial. They find this incapacity due to three defects in Irish character: laziness, a tendency to dissension, and a tendency to grafting. They say that the Irishman is not a confirmed worker, that he loves to wrangle, and that he favours his friends at the expense of his community when he is in political office. The Irish reply, "the penal laws, the ascendancy system, the union with its anti-Irish 'National' schools, its 'West Briton' ideals, martial law, these are the causes of that national incompetency of ours." One remembers in this connection the famous passage of Graham Wallas in "The Great Society" on the rights of little nations:

Athens during the last quarter of the fifth century B.C. was not well governed; and if the British Empire had then existed, and if Athens had been brought within it, the administration of

the city would undoubtedly have been improved in some important respects. But one does not like to imagine the effect on the intellectual output of the fifth century B.C. if even the best of Mr. Rudyard Kipling's public-school subalterns had stalked daily through the agora, snubbing, as he passed, that intolerable bounder Euripides, or clearing out of his way the probably seditious group that were gathered round Socrates.

The time for argument on what Matthew Arnold called "barren logomachies" is past. Ireland will soon receive her independence in the British commonwealth. The time for action has come, and that action must proceed out of Irishmen in productive agriculture, efficient industry, and clean and tolerant government.

Among the happy communities of the past were the Greek city states, the twelfth-century communes, and the pioneering settlements of America. They were happy because the citizens had a measure of equality and because the terms of life included spiritual values. Life was not organization, knowledge, work, pleasure, efficiency, but through these means developed an excellence of its own finer than the machinery through which it functioned and the material on which it worked. By the natural conditions of the country and the temperament of the people Ireland is fitted to be one of the happy communities of human history instead of a land of sorrows. Peasant proprietorship in a fertile country among a people of social and imaginative nature ought to take the curse from life, because life under such conditions offers equality, intercourse, prosperity, and a free play for spiritual values.

No old time battle-cry or politico-economic dogma can survive in the light of to-day's facts. Landlordism was the old cry, and it expressed a hideous injustice. But "if all rent were abolished in Ireland to-morrow the chief difficulties of the Irish farmer would remain what they are. It would not raise the price of anything the farmer has to sell, or increase the produce of an acre of his land." "The long war over the land, which resulted in the transference of the land from landlord to cultivator, has advanced us part of the way, but the Land Acts offered no complete solution. We were assured by hot enthusiasts of the magic of proprietorship, but Ireland has not tilled a single acre more since the Land Acts were passed. The welfare of Ireland depends mainly upon the welfare of the Irish farmer."

So it is worth considering his case in detail. A clear statement of it is given by A. E., who is one of the three men at the head of the co-operative movement. He says :

The small farmer is the typical Irish countryman. The average area of an Irish farm is twenty-five acres or thereabouts. We can imagine to ourselves an Irish farmer with twenty-five acres to till, lord of a herd of four or five cows, a drift of sheep, a litter of pigs, perhaps a mare and foal : call him Patrick Malony and accept him as symbol of his class. . . . He is fruitful enough. There is no race suicide in Ireland. His agriculture is largely traditional. His butter, his eggs, his cattle, horses, pigs, and sheep are sold to local dealers. He might be described almost as the primitive

economic caveman, the darkness of his cave unilluminated by any ray of general principles. . . . The culture of the Gaelic poets and story-tellers, while not often actually remembered, still lingers like a fragrance about his mind. We ponder over Patrick, his race, and his country, brooding whether there is the seed of a Pericles in Patrick's loins. Could we carve an Attica out of Ireland?

Before Patrick can become the father of a Pericles, before Ireland can become an Attica, Patrick must be led out of his economic cave. . . . Our poets sang of a united Ireland, but the unity they sang of was only a metaphor. It mainly meant separation from another country. Individualism, fanatically centring itself on its family and family interests, interfered on public boards to do jobs in the interests of its kith and kin. The co-operative movement connects with living links the home, the centre of Patrick's being, to the nation, the circumference of his being. . . . I believe the fading hold the heavens have over the world is due to the neglect of the economic basis of spiritual life. The co-operative movement alone of all movements in Ireland has aspired to make an economic solidarity in Ireland.

The social and economic service of co-operation is this: it enables farmers to own and use modern machinery, to buy feeding material, manures, and seeds, and to construct fertilizer plants at low cost, standard quality, and on large scale. It gives control over markets, and slowly improves the transportation facilities for produce. It sells to advantage through its own agents instead of through a long circuit of middlemen. It gives a system for borrowing money

at a lower interest and for a longer term. It pools the ideas of many men and gives an interchange and interaction of ideas, leading to close, hard, economic thinking, invention and discovery, and a widespread intellectual fertilization. In one place where a creamery was nearly started, the co-operators report, the whole scheme was destroyed by the announcement of a leader of public opinion that "every pound of butter must be made on Nationalist principles or not at all." But the work of uncoiling ancient grievance from constructive enterprise goes on, and prosperity cures ill will. You will see in a single village the co-operative societies supplying seeds, manures, and machinery to the farmers, establishing credits, marketing eggs gathered by the women, running a station to improve the breed of poultry, conducting a knitting industry, and selling groceries and provisions.¹

There comes a limit of saturation, and co-operation has probably sucked up as many peasants as its present capacity admits. That capacity must be increased if co-operation is to increase in the next twenty years at the rate of the last twenty. More and better land, now held by landlords for grazing, must be freed for tillage. The existent railways must provide better facilities for farmers. A system of spur railways to mine-pit heads and of light railways² through neglected districts must be established. The village of

¹ See the reports of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, "Sir Horace Plunkett," by Edward E. Lysaght, "The National Being," by A. E., and the first I.A.O.S. leaflet by Sir Horace Plunkett.

See Appendix, "Irish Railways."

Belmullet in western Mayo is forty-six miles from a railroad. There are anthracite seams a few miles out from Dublin. Seven miles of light railway, at a cost of \$1,250,000, would connect the mine with its market, and reduce the cost of that coal from forty-three or forty-five shillings to twenty-five shillings.¹ One of the young Irish leaders says, "Any extensive working of Irish coal or copper is contingent on the assent of the vast British mining interest to Irish competition." The creation of machinery and fertilizers must be undertaken on a larger scale. In short, production must be increased by the application of capital. Can that capital be found? Will it be by Irish parliamentary grant, by Irish taxation, or by foreign investment, or will the co-operators themselves be willing to lay aside a percentage of their profit for the purpose of extending the movement till it has embraced all Ireland? A solution must be found, for a movement either grows or dies.

The present situation is abnormal. The estimated value of Irish exports to Great Britain for 1916 is over two hundred million dollars' worth. Before the war they averaged about one hundred and forty millions. A clear gain in money of sixty million dollars has flowed in to Irish farmers. Fish, butter and eggs have at times been held up for lack of shipping, but that is because the shipping has been destroyed on other hauls, which would have been in part

¹ The service of light railways to a community can be realized by reading "Land and Labour—Lessons from Belgium," by Seebohm Rowntree. See also Appendix, "Light Railways."

unnecessary if Irish agriculture were developed up to capacity.

Ireland sends live stock and the produce of live stock to Great Britain. She sends sheep and mutton, bacon, ham, live pigs, poultry, butter, and eggs. Next to the production of live stock, the marketing of butter is the most important industry. The farmer has received increased prices to account for most of this gain, but the production also has been somewhat increased. Some of this extra money has gone for increased cost of production, feeding stuffs, and fertilizer. The rest of the money has been banked.

"The last two years are the most phenomenal in Ireland's history," says the department of agriculture, and they tell me that "the farmer has come off in a gold coach" during these war months. Plunkett House, headquarters of the co-operators, tells me that there is undoubtedly more money return, but that the farmer's live-stock has been sold, and must be replaced, and that his plant has deteriorated, so that he isn't greatly better off in productive wealth. Such a thing as agreement on any matter in Ireland is not obtainable in the present atmosphere of passion. It is probable that the law of gravitation violates the Sinn Fein principle of self-help, and that the ethics of the gospel are under suspicion in four counties of Ulster. "What too many people in Ireland mistake for thoughts are feelings. Passion has become dominant in our politics." But in the end Ireland must be ruled not by rhetoric, but by "first-class thinking on the life of the countryman. The genius of rural life has not yet appeared."

The Irish situation is the heritage of landlordism, usury, famine, land legislation, grazing, emigration. When these had operated, Ireland was reduced in population, and the good land was let out in vast grazing tracts, and the poorer land was crowded by farmers. These crowded areas are called congested districts. The congested-districts board exists for the purpose of cutting those areas up into holdings, enlarging existing holdings till they become a "paying proposition" instead of uneconomic, making roads, and creating new holdings. This is a long job, and will consume many years before completion. It requires both time and money, and there is a shortage of money, as the British Government has shut down on the extension of financial help.

"Counties like Meath, with the richest land in Ireland, are under grass and virtually destitute of all life save the bullocks which graze in their fields."

The total cultivated area of Ireland is 2,400,000 acres. In pasture and grazed mountain land there remain 12,500,000 acres. Live stock is to crop production as four is to three. There were 500,000 acres in wheat in 1851. In 1914 there were 36,000, a decrease of $92\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. The total decrease in tillage has been seventy per cent. Eleven per cent. of Ireland is now arable land, and sixty-four per cent. hay and pasture. Eleven per cent. of France is hay and pasture, and fifty-two per cent. arable land.

The land acts are permissive, not compulsory, and the landlord can refuse to sell. He does so refuse, and continues to hold the land for grazing. Compul-

sory purchase was proposed in a bill, but the landlords' convention rejected the bill, and the British Government was unwilling to press a contentious measure.

While I was in Ireland the Earl of Meath had his estate agent write in reply to a request that he allow his uncultivated land to be parcelled out for the production of food :

His lordship is in sympathy with the general idea that more land should, during the war, be brought under cultivation for the production of food. Lord Meath has not a large quantity of land in Bray, and he would be glad to know if others, who may have more, have been approached by your society and, if not, why this has not been done. He considers that the supply of milk in a populous district like Bray is a more pressing question than that of any other kind of food, and that any diminution in grazing lands would inevitably raise its price. For these reasons Lord Meath cannot see his way to accede to your request.

In his case the request had been made that a portion of land be given to meet the national need. But the same refusal is widely met when compensation is offered. By a liberal use of state credit the farmer has got back some of the land which was taken away from his grandfather. He has paid a fair price for purchase, which is from twenty to forty per cent. below his old rents. One farmer, for instance, now pays fourteen pounds a year toward the purchase of his holding where he used to pay eighteen pounds in rent. But the process is slow and partial. So in Ireland

to-day there is still an unappeased land hunger. Still the holdings are often too small and too poor. Still half the land is held by landlords, and agriculture is crippled. The Irish radicals write of the late Home Rule Bill :

There is no provision for ever transferring land purchase in Ireland to the control of the Irish Parliament. It will be at least eighty years before land purchase is completed.

There are five million good acres which ought to be brought back under tillage at once. If any of this land could be held by the farmer on a full year's lease, it would come under the terms of the "agricultural holding" acts, and automatically would be open for tillage. But the landlord lets it out for grazing for eleven months, and then snaps it back for the last month, so as to evade the provisions of the law. This "eleven months' lease" is as noisome in Ireland as the injunction in America. As there is an immediate market for cattle, the small farmers bid against one another for grazing land. They cannot afford to wait for the slower greater market for grain which would be theirs if they boycotted the grazing lands till the owners sold them for tillage. Nothing short of a mandatory state policy will cure this primary cause of Irish poverty.

Every statement of an economic situation requires careful qualification. Ireland has made a steady gain since the ebb-tide of the 1850's. Her deposits and cash balances in joint-stock banks, post-office and

trustee savings-banks, were recently \$410,000,000 as against \$145,000,000 in 1871. She held \$235,000,000 in government stocks two years ago. The business of the railways nearly doubled in thirty years, though much of this money went into English hands, and the railway system is imperfect and ununified. In 1871 her emigration was 71,000; in 1914, 20,000. No picture of degeneration fits the facts. But the reconstructive legislation and state grants and credit system have brought Ireland only half-way. A bolder, more drastic programme must now be adopted if she is to overcome poverty and become the productive country which is her true destiny. Machinery and fertilizer must be purchased on a far larger scale, the land must be opened up, a better system of cropping used, factories for agricultural plant must be established, housing must be bettered. Faith in her future is what Ireland needs from her friends, and money as the expression of that faith. The labour and trade-unionists of Ireland have faced this situation, and the conference stated :

We demand that steps be taken immediately to bring under cultivation large areas of the grazing lands—by direct labour on an extensive scale under the Department; by empowering County Councils to proceed on similar lines; by calling upon all local authorities to utilize every acre of suitable land within their areas now lying idle for spade cultivation, for potatoes and vegetables; by offering advances of capital to local bodies where necessary to finance these schemes; to make unprofitable by punitive taxation the keeping

out of cultivation of excessive proportions of agricultural holdings, and that the Government grant facilities for the manufacture and importation of agricultural machinery and fertilizers and their distribution at actual cost.

The Irish party's committee on food supply protests against the delays of the past, and urges that the congested-districts board and estates commissioners should be equipped to proceed with the permanent division of grass-lands. It advocates compulsory tillage. This would mean that the Government demands that the holder till a percentage, say from ten to twenty-five per cent. (later to be increased) of his land. The small farmer would thus be required to till six or seven acres instead of four or five.

His reply will be, Where can I get the labour? "The disease which has attacked our great populations here and in America is a discontent with rural life." In less than fifty years 300,000 agricultural labourers have left the Irish fields for American factories. Till the war fifty thousand Irishmen every year went to England and Scotland for the harvest. (That fell to 13,000 in the first year of the war.) The department of agriculture reports, "There has been for many years a marked scarcity of agricultural labourers in Ireland." In 1871 there were 446,000 male agricultural labourers and 62,000 female. In 1911 there were fewer than 200,000 male, and there were only 4,000 females.

The reason is plain: better wages are obtainable elsewhere. In 1914 the agricultural wage of Ireland

had a cash value of eleven shillings and threepence a week. Why did not the farmer pay more? He was not able to. The average cash return to all classes connected with the farm, farmer-owner, farmer-tenant, and labourer, when added together and averaged, was only twelve shillings and ninepence, so the farmer was paying all he could afford.

Only higher production, through better land, machinery, and co-operation, can solve the wage of the farm-hand. The labourers will never be half so numerous as farmers, for Ireland is "a country of small holdings, where the farmer and his family are themselves labourers." The co-operative ownership of expensive machinery will increasingly lead to the communal employment of the labourer as a skilled mechanic by the co-operative community. If the belief of the co-operators comes true, that in half a century the whole business of rural Ireland (and that is over seventy per cent. of Ireland) will be done co-operatively, then we have the solution for the present scarcity of labour. "The agricultural labourers will gradually become skilled mechanics, able to direct threshers, binders, diggers, cultivators, and new implements we have no conception of. They will be members of the society, sharing in its profits in proportion to their wages, even as the farmer will in proportion to his trade. The labourers will form societies for collective farming as in Rumania and Italy." It is possible that in this direction may lie the solution not only for the labourer, but for the bringing of Ireland back to tillage, for land purchase

is doubtless dead. Neither England nor Ireland will have any money for land purchase after this war. The money will go into industry and for the wages of industrial workers. But by letting out the great grazing estates to groups of labourers, the productive power of Ireland will be increased.

There is no quick way through the tangle. The Irish question can be solved only by the people themselves. Can they create a good life for their community? Can they conduct a clean government? Can they release productive power in the nation, so that pauperism and ignorance and dissension will decrease? Can they lift clear of their past, forget injustice and misery, and establish a co-operative commonwealth? With the coming of autonomy Ireland will begin to face her real problem.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL STUDIES

WHAT OF ENGLAND ?

To feel the spirit of a nation at war is one thing and an easy thing. You cannot help being caught into the current of their will and purpose. But to convey that spirit to your busy friends three thousand miles away is a much harder thing. I have been going around from man to man in England, trying to get that phrase and summary which would make the British response clear to our people.¹ Each one of these men, who has been good enough to pause in his war work to help me, has given a flash of the island spirit.

Lord Northcliffe said to me :

"No one will accuse me of failing to criticize the mistakes of the British army in the early months. But I want you to know that to-day we have the finest fighting-machine in the world. It has taken time to build it, but now we have it. Tell your people that."

Viscount Bryce said to me :

"The British people are unanimous as they have never been before."

¹ A satisfying record of this effort and the spirit behind the effort is given in the day-by-day notes of the best of war-correspondents, Philip Gibbs.

A police commissioner of Scotland Yard, in charge of the secret service, said to me :

"Have you noticed in talking with the pacifists how discouraged they seem? They have no sense of a growing movement. They are disheartened because the great mass of the British people are not supporting them." Then he turned to his telephone and gave instructions to call up Portsmouth and find out the time of arrival of the hospital-ship. His wounded son was due home from France.

G. K. Chesterton said to me :

"Democracy is on the march." His brother is a private in the ranks.

Lloyd George talked with me of the welfare work at that time carried on for the ministry of munitions by Seebohm Rowntree, who had turned from his own factories of several thousand workers to care for the health of a half million Government employees.

"Here," said Lloyd George, "is the greatest attempt ever made by a Government to surround the lives of the workers with safeguards for their health and well-being. And it was the making of munitions that brought us to it. It was war and shells. It is always true that humanity has to descend into hell in order to rise again the third day. It is only through hell that it can achieve its resurrection."

But not all these distinguished men together have quite revealed the central flame, and then suddenly it was shown to me by a girl. She is a wage-earner in London, and every day on her way to her office she passes Fishmongers' Hall by London Bridge. This

ancient place has been converted into a military hospital. To the house-surgeon she wrote this letter :

Dear Sir, I am taking the liberty to write to you to ask if it is true that often a soldier's wound could be the easier and the better healed were there plenty of skin available to graft on to the wound ? I have been told that many wounds are badly healed because the doctors cannot get skin. If this is so, I would consider it an honour to be allowed to put myself at your disposal at any time in order that my skin might be taken to graft on to a wound ; I am prepared to give as much as would be practicable to take from me.

This is no impulsive movement on my part. I am obliged to come to town each day to earn my own living, and am therefore debarred from working for the soldiers as other girls of my own age are doing. I have two brothers fighting, and for their sakes I feel I must do something. I am writing to your hospital because I know of nowhere else ; if you can find no use for my services I shall be obliged if you will kindly inform me where I could go.

WHY THEY WILL WIN

England is at war *en masse*, and the proof of it is not that she has raised an army. Any country can raise an army if it has to. The proof of it is that she has changed a cherished habit. That means a spiritual change. It is a lot harder to break up a habit than it is to fight an enemy. The fact that four million persons are saving money to give to the Government for carrying on the war is the clearest single proof that the English nation is at war. By temperament the

English are a colonizing, adventurous people. That means they are an open-handed people, to whom the careful ways of thrift are distasteful. Then, too, they are a race of individualists, doing what they like with their own—a race to whom collective effort is a bore. But they violated their instinct in order to win this war. For the English were free spenders, and it revealed more devotion in them to raise over one hundred million pounds in individual subscriptions than it did to raise five million men in recruiting.

One has to show the English effort in these broken bits and flashes rather than by any one overmastering display. That is because England is a tangled, self-willed democracy, of a vast variety of purpose. But when England began to alter its life, to sacrifice what was precious and ancient, then it became clear that she had committed herself beyond recall, that she was moving to an end beyond defeat.

The appeal for war savings was a general appeal made to all classes of the country. It put money into the hands of the Government with which to wage war. That money is spent for production by the nation instead of being spent for consumption by the individual person. The terms of the arrangement gave to the "saver" security, an excellent rate of interest, and the opportunity of withdrawal at any time. This use of money frees labour from "luxury" work to necessary work. The man grooves a big gun instead of pulling candy. The woman makes shells instead of fancy waists. This release of labour concentrates the national effort on the work of victory

instead of leaving the workers dispersed among parasitic trades.

The heart of the war-savings scheme is this: you buy a "war-savings certificate" for fifteen shillings and sixpence. In five years the Government will give you a pound for it. Of course the worker cannot make an investment of fifteen shillings and sixpence at one time. So he joins an association in his school, factory, store, or club, and subscribes his penny or sixpence each week. These associations are like American fraternal organizations. They appeal to the social sense of the group. There are other forms of war saving, such as exchequer bonds, but this system of certificate is the popular way. It is co-operative investment.

If the person does not belong to an association, he receives a war-savings card, with thirty-one spaces on it, each for a sixpenny stamp. He buys the stamps at the post-office as often as he can. When the card is full, he hands it in, and receives a certificate, worth fifteen shillings and sixpence, and good for a pound at the end of five years.

Such speakers as Lennox Gilmour, of the national war-savings committee, go around the country addressing men and women in factories, and boys and girls in schools. This is one of the stories used by Mr. Gilmour in his campaign:

"I met in a railway carriage a man who had just returned from the front. He was a member of the Army Service Corps, and I got into conversation with him. In the course of our talk he said:

“ ‘ I am one of those chaps that always like to prove what I say. Would you mind looking at my pay-book.’

“ This in support of some assertion he had made. I replied that I should be delighted, and I looked at his pay-book. The last entry was three hundred francs, which he had drawn for his holiday; and immediately in front of that there was an entry, ‘ War-savings certificates £10 1s. 6d.,’ which is the price of thirteen war-savings certificates.

“ I said, ‘ I see you have some of these war-savings certificates.’

“ ‘ Yes, and I am going to get some more.’

“ ‘ How did you get these ? ’

“ ‘ Well,’ he said, ‘ we get them in the squadron.’

“ ‘ Did any other chaps get them ? ’

“ ‘ Oh, yes, they did.’

“ I said, ‘ How did your squadron do ? ’

“ ‘ Well,’ he said, ‘ I will tell you. There are five squadrons in our base camp, and mine did the best of the lot.’

“ ‘ What did it do ? ’

“ ‘ There are,’ he said, ‘ a hundred and fifty men in a squadron, and we contributed £2,239.’

“ ‘ What,’ I asked, ‘ did the other four squadrons do ? ’

“ He laughed. ‘ They did £200 among them.’

“ ‘ Well,’ I said, ‘ there is always an explanation for everything. Why did your squadron do so well, and why did the other squadrons do so poorly ? ’

“ ‘ You see,’ he replied, ‘ our major was keen,

and he spoke to every one of us and told us what we ought to do.'

"I asked, 'And the other majors, what did they do?'

" 'They handed out the leaflets.' "

That is the secret of the success which has attended this evangelistic campaign. It is the personal appeal, friend speaking to friend. And the motive for giving is rendered in the headlines of the pamphlets and posters: "Save for England." "Save for your country."

In North Nibley, one of the smallest villages in Gloucestershire, the inhabitants subscribed £16 in a fortnight.

Wigston Magna, in Leicestershire, is in the centre of the hosiery and boot-making district. One of the factories has between three hundred and four hundred operatives. That factory purchased two hundred certificates in one week.

Yarmouth has fifty associations and four thousand members, and has subscribed two thousand pounds. This city lies on the east coast, where the Zeppelins have stimulated the civilian consciousness.

It was out from Grimsby that the fishing-trawlers have been lost by mines and submarines. The answer of Grimsby was made by seventy-three war-savings associations. In one week 4,600 certificates were purchased.

At an East End factory in London 123 girls joined the savings crusade in a single week. Only two girls are not members. In three months the girls saved

over £50. They did it by chipping in their three-penny and sixpenny bit each week.

Norwich paid into the post-office £15,000 in six weeks.

The boot and shoe operatives of Northampton are subscribing one thousand pounds a week.

Keighley, in Yorkshire, is the heart of the woollen trade. It makes uniforms for the Russian army. It saves one thousand pounds a week, an average of six shillings and eightpence for every inhabitant.

The domestic servants of Gillingham, in Kent, have united in a war-savings association. This reminds me of the touching gift of ten shillings which I once received from an English housemaid for ambulance work in Belgium. Let no one doubt the spirit in which this money of humble persons is given. It is given because a little nation was crushed, and because their brothers and lovers are fighting to free that little nation. No high-blown dreams of empire, no lust for territory, no desire for power and wealth, are in these obscure gifts. They are conscience-money to Belgium. They are the pitiful earnings of a democracy passed over to a suffering people.

In Plymouth, with its docking and shipping trade, eighteen thousand persons began to save in one week.

At Preston, in Lancashire, £20,000 was turned over to the Government by the workers in the period of four months.

There is an elementary school for 350 boys near Newcastle. The boys brought in £800 from their families in eight weeks, and then kept up the average of £100 a week.

In Battersea one of the school-boys brought in the sum of £100 in pennies collected among the three hundred boys and their working families in ten months.

The thing that irritates Americans about England is the same thing that offends them at home. Here is no well-oiled autocracy that runs on a single track to a visible goal. Instead of that clean, smooth, organized, docile affair, it is a democracy, with an immensely rich variety of life sprawling all over the place. The air is full of voices, because every one is allowed to speak. If you don't like it, remember what it is that you don't like : it is a free people, choosing to make its own mistakes, living its own life, and just now out on the war-path to chase some trespassers off the premises. Doubtless, if the critics were running the performance, they would give a more unified and polished proceeding. But no group of persons are running this war. The people are running it. So, instead of losing strength as the pressure increases, they gather force and momentum with each mistake. They teach themselves by failure. The will of the great German general staff can be snapped by defeat, because the staff is a handful of men. But the will of 40,000,000 people cannot be broken, because it is the will of these school-boys and working-girls, of domestic servants and munition-workers, of a democracy whose sense of pity and justice has been touched. The mistake in estimating the English effort is to measure it at any given time, because it is a continually growing effort. It is like a gathering of waters from mountain streams and the drift of hills

and from inexhaustible rains. The confluence keeps widening and deepening from a thousand tributaries. The pool can be emptied, and soon it is not only filled again, but is larger than before.

The English are a "sentimental nation." I quote a distinguished English officer when I say that. It is true. They are as sentimental as Americans. An appeal to cold reason, to personal aggrandizement, to a rainy day, or to a shadowy future, does not move them in the slightest. But something that concerns the welfare of helpless children or of persons whom they love releases all that is best in the English race. I know this, because I worked in a Red Cross London office in the early weeks of the war, and I found that the smallest appeal to the English public for help in clothing Belgians brought in a large response—a response, in fact, so overwhelming that it stuffed the office rooms with supplies. Personally I have never dealt with a public that is so swiftly generous. When the full facts of Belgian relief are made public, it will be found that it is the English who have fed them and sheltered them, raised the greater part of the money, widened and adjusted their own home life in order to absorb an army of refugees, and steadily continued to provide funds without spurts and without fatigue. No better proof of this racial sentiment and kindness can be had than by studying a few of the fifty-four million posters and leaflets of recruiting, and the hundreds of thousand publications for war saving. The appeal is rarely to self-interest. The appeal is to the heart, to the great objects of the war

the ideal of liberty, the cause of freedom. This national saving is not being done by obscure, hard-working Englishmen and Englishwomen to make their own old age cosy. It is being done to free Belgium and strengthen democracy. If the evangelists who have gone about Britain preaching war savings had spoken to a commercial motive, they would have whistled in vain.

THE DECAY OF PARLIAMENT

To control vast, irresponsible economic power will be the task of Parliament; but here we meet with a new war-created problem. During the war Parliament has largely lost its control over government, which is administered to-day by a temporary group of lawyers, financiers, and imperialists, surrounded by a larger group of permanent expert officials. And this group in turn is enlarged by a small army of volunteer social workers. Not only do these hidden experts administer government, but they create new legislation. As a Government investigator reports:

“The change in the mode of industrial legislation may be summed up as a tendency to move from the politician towards the expert.”

Even before the war men were saying: “The political machine of to-day pre-supposes that popular opinion shall have no initiative. Officialdom increases at the expense of the remaining social classes.”

This is a tendency in the direction of bureaucracy, and the value of it rests in the intelligence and character

of these inner manipulators and their responsiveness to public need. In the first two years of war, the Government appointed 105 committees to investigate reconstruction problems. A committee sits on its bill of recommendations, like a hen on its nest, and rises with a cackle. Sometimes the product, when hatched, is as distressing and unexpected as a duck's egg in the poultry farm. I suspect that the reconstruction committee and the franchise committee are going to find that their sober, well-rounded draft of recommendations will develop startling methods of locomotion.

Sidney Low in the "Fortnightly Review" implies that Parliament has ceased to be a Government-making organ, and that government in the future will continue to be carried on by great administrative commissions appointed by the Cabinet, directly responsible to it, and removed from the direct control of Parliament. A violent shifting is taking place in the nice balance of power of Bagehot's English Constitution, throwing control to the executive and expert, and away from the geographical representative.

The democratic machinery of the nineteenth century has broken down. A new machinery is being slowly constructed. Under the old régime, elected representatives of the people became the law-making body, the Legislature, and a committee of the Legislature was selected to be the Cabinet, or Executive. But in recent years there has grown up a body of nearly a thousand Departmental administrators, outside Parliament, housed in Government Departments.

This bureaucracy is a set of permanent expert officials, who, actually, not only administer the law as created by Parliament, but initiate new legislation, which is carried into effect over the head of Parliament, because it is drafted into bills by these experts, handed to the Cabinet by them, and made into Acts by the power of the Cabinet exercised on Parliament. So Parliament has tended to become a ratifying voice, instead of a law-making body.

The Cabinet, also, has changed. The various departmental heads, who used to sit around as "Cabinet Ministers" and confer, have been forced back into their function as administrators of departments. A small body of men, just now five in number, form the Directorate of Government. The change from twenty-three executives to five gives centralization of power, and exactly located responsibility. The few can get results and they can be held to account, where the many dodged both action and "strict accountability." The change is similar to that which has taken place in several hundred American city governments. Under the old ward system, we used to elect twenty or thirty men to "run" a city. Now we elect a commission government of five men, with full power and responsibility, who select their departmental administrative staffs.

The five who rule Britain are called the War Council. When peace comes, it is probable that the old extended Cabinet will temporarily revive and resume its activities as a debating society with diffused unlocated responsibility and weakened executive power. But that

machinery is outworn and is sure to be scrapped. It was constructed on the theory that the state is made up of citizens, who can conduct their corporate life through representatives. That theory is an oversimplification of government.

To sum up present tendencies:—The executive is rapidly defining itself and constructing its machinery. It is tending toward the organized state directed by a few powerful executives, surrounded by administrative departments. It has outpaced the Legislature, which is drifting impotent on the tide of state socialism, devised by expert officials and enacted by the handful of five men in control of government. This new legislation was demanded by the community, not primarily through its Parliamentary representatives, but by the new channels of the press, suffrage societies, trade unions, and Government departments (military, naval, munitions, Board of Trade, Home Office, and Local Government Boards).

But not only has the Legislature been outpaced. Democratic control over these executives and experts has failed to keep step with the rapid growth in their power. The community has not yet devised checks upon them. Representatives in Parliament, elected from geographical localities, are now seen to be only one of the needed effective controls. The citizen is not only and essentially a resident in an area called Battersea, who elects a Battersea man to safeguard Battersea interests. The citizen is also a producer and a consumer, and he wishes those functions safeguarded in government. The citizen as consumer

is gradually establishing co-operation, and local and national ownership. As a producer, he strengthens whatever trade union he belongs to (whether as doctor, business man, barrister, teacher, railwayman, or locomotive engineer) and is slowly but increasingly establishing local, district, and national parliaments in his profession and industry. Through workshop council, joint district board, and national conciliation committees, he is asserting a control on government. Already it is unquestioned that the demands of such a union as the miners' are more effective in creating new legislation than the demands of members of Parliament. To co-ordinate these parallel and conflicting claims will be the coming task of government. The result will be a remodelled British Constitution. The present total eclipse of Parliament is more complete than it will be after the war. Some of Parliament's former power will return to it. A resultant will be established between the various pressures of producers and consumers, between syndicalism and co-operation and state and municipal socialism. But less and less will the citizen of the future vote simply as a Brighton Unionist or as a Houndsditch Liberal. The old party idea has been sapped by the railroad, the telegraph and the newspaper, and geographical representation has been weakened by the recognition of function in citizenship, replacing the idea of "the political man," who is a brain-created figment like "the economic man." The citizen will vote as a mining producer and as a food consumer. His political power will lie in his building trade combine and his

trade union as well as in his district representation. The party words "Tory" and "Liberal" may in time become quaint relics.

A BATCH OF PAPERS

Instead of writing this like a sociological report, I shall tell what I like and dislike about British journalism. I like Chesterton's paper, "The New Witness," since G. K. C. has taken it over. Others that write his style annoy me, as an echo in the auditorium annoys an audience who want to hear the speaker himself. I like "The New Witness" because Gilbert K. Chesterton seems to me the best thing England has produced since Dickens. I like the things he believes in, and I hate sociological experts and prohibitionists and Uhlan officers, which are the things he hates. I feel in him that a very honest man is speaking, and am glad of his views even when I respectfully differ from him.¹ He is a useful corrective on public opinion, too. He dislikes the servile state, by which he means the coming orderly, regimented Utopia of the rich. That is the kind of talk we need, because all of us in social work (and who isn't a social worker to-day?) are for ever hunting and harrying the poor, itemizing their food-supply, shading off just the proportion of caloric difference between starvation and under-nourishment. And when we catch the line where the poor satisfy us that they can pull through, we are going to impale them with a minimum wage. As a journalist Chester-

¹ As in the matter of Jews, peasant proprietorship, and control of the liquor traffic.

ton puts only about a quarter of himself into action. But even a quarter of Chesterton is good measure. He leaves out all his overtones, the lilting verse and jovial stories and incomparable essays, those flashes of good criticism and exultation. He works very hard at his journalism. That is why he doesn't do it so well as his careless things, which give him fun. But for all that there are few editorial pages in England or the United States written with the snap, wit, and honest humanity of his paragraphs. I hope he won't blunt himself by overwork. It would be an international loss if that sane, jolly mind is bent to routine. England has need of him. There is something cosmic about English plans of reconstruction, something of the weary load of destiny about their imperial commonwealth. It is a pleasant thing to be able to remind ourselves that the same race that produced Curzon and Milner and Carson, heavy men, with a sense of predestined seriousness, after all produced Chesterton.

I have to jump the Irish Sea in order to find anything so much in earnest and gay as the "New Witness" in these months of management by one who tells me that he is "the worst editor in the civilized world, perpetually busy without ever being businesslike." I think the independent spirited little Irish weeklies are admirable. They sass the censor and the lord lieutenant and the Castle. I met some of the editors, poor men and honest, editing and writing papers in which they believe. They seemed to me worth all the sleek, timid New York crowd put together. They speak their heart out, then take the galley proof

around to the censor, and he slashes out "seditious" paragraphs, and they publish about half their heartfelt. I have seen these carved-up galleys and the pleading, warning, threatening letters of the censor. These journalists are pretty much everything in their shop—editor and contributor and proof-reader and office boy—because their papers are often one-man concerns. A man believes something hard, and being Irish, he has the knack of statement, so he publishes a paper. One of them told us he had a weekly circulation of 10,000; another had 6,000. These weeklies have literary quality. One of them, "New Ireland," is stuffed full of good things by A. E., James Stephens, Katharine Tynan, and the rest of that gifted group. There is something pathetic about the editors I am speaking of; I met several of them. I don't mean pitiable, because you don't pity men who are better than you are. But there seemed something hopeless about the success of their efforts within any span of time that would concern them at all. I suppose it is just an extension of the feeling that we have about any clean, unrewarded effort in this present world of ours where men of the sort of these Irish editors, with fine hopes about humanity in their heart, go lean and tired to their grave. Some of them are already in prison, and more of them will be there before the Irish question is well settled.

Coming back to England, one has to have "The Nation." It is much like our own "New Republic." But what is a discovery in "The New Republic" becomes a formula in "The Nation," "The New

Republic" is cock-sure, omniscient, and "I'm not arguing with you; I'm telling you," because its background is scanty, and it has the freshness of a virgin mind. "The Nation" is all background, and so is a little weary. It has the slightly fatigued mind of one who has lived a lifetime with the noble aspirations of our better-class radicals, and needs a change, but won't take it. But, for all that, it seems to this reader the best weekly in England, and it comes closer to interpreting the vital thought of England, the currents of tendency, than any paper known to me. It is of course well written, a quality it shares with forty other papers. That gift of a good working style is rather widespread. It comes of having a literary tradition and a well-read university crowd. There must be two or three hundred men in England with a clear and satisfactory technique.

Examples of it are found in the "middle articles" in "The Spectator," and the clever pointed opening paragraphs of "The Saturday Review," stating the news of the week in one hundred word summaries, which are equally charming on the death of a Greek professor and the rotten radicalism of modern thought. I like "The Saturday Review," "The National Review," and "The Morning Post" for an agreeable irritability which they have in common. They react to Americans, Germans, labour, radicalism, and the Irish with a fine, fresh enthusiasm, which results in lively writing. In this bad modern world they have lost their larger public, and they see their future trailed out behind them like a foamy wake, but they go into

dissolution with a zest. The war has partly spoiled their pleasure, because German misdeeds gave them a legitimate and a popular object of attack, and for a time they had to endure a certain measure of public favour, as men who had told you so. But as labour takes control of a new province every month, and as radicalism honeycombs the British commonwealth, they are regaining their ancient rôle of Cassandra.

Lately the "Athenæum" has undergone the same change which the English community is undergoing. It has turned itself into a once-a-month organ of social reform, and is performing an immensely valuable service in keeping its eye on the "fundamentals" in reconstruction.

To talk of English weekly journalism and omit Horatio Bottomley and his "John Bull" would be as unfortunate as dropping George Cohan and Billy Sunday from a list of leaders of American thought. Very simply Bottomley said recently :

I speak as the editor of a journal which enjoys a circulation and wields an influence unique in newspaper history ; and as one who, for good or evil, has gained the ear and the confidence of a sufficient section of the British public to make or unmake Ministers.

Stated with true British restraint, that is a minimum appraisal of the place Bottomley holds in public esteem. In the same issue Lloyd George learns he is not to be broken at the first kick-off. "So long as he does this—but not a day longer—he may rely, for what it may be worth, upon my unqualified and dis-

interested support." I heard a British colonel say the other day that Bottomley should have been in the Cabinet. He writes à picture-post-card style, like that of Arthur Brisbane, which is spotted with battle-cries and catch-phrases such as "a business Government," "Germany's Death-rattle." He has a genuine pity for the lot of the poor, and I think in that, and not in his raw conceit and vulgarity and barrenness of ideas, lies the secret of his hold on a portion of the people. When it comes to the downright spade-work of reconstruction, where bright phrases are not a substitute for hard thinking, I foresee a sharp tussle for mastery between the Bottomley type of mind and the real leaders of England, who put fundamental brain-work on the industrial and imperial problems. Meanwhile I read "John Bull," and so does England.¹

There is no wrench in passing from Bottomley to Lord Northcliffe. Both are "practical men," who want things done now. Northcliffe is a big, genial man, carrying a sense of immediate power. He suggested to me a cross between a district leader and a captain of industry. He will do anything for you personally, like a Tammany boss. It expresses a genuine human liking in his make-up. He cuts across lots to get into action. He talks well, and has a hard horse sense that has served England in the present crisis. Whether he will continue to be of value will depend on his ability to broaden his vision of the industrial struggle. He has the arrogance of men who make swift decisions, and who are in the position to carry them

¹ See Appendix, "Horatio Bottomley."

out. He has a sharpened sense of reality, but it is a materialistic sense. Whether he will help the new world after the war is a question that is troubling all who have watched his astonishing career and realize his force. His "Times" is a very great newspaper, greater in its synthesis of news and in its special articles than any known to me in France or America. Because of the influence of such a master of public opinion, there is a danger that England may too hastily reshape its ideals. Because it has been slow and unorganized it is turning to American and Prussian methods. But it will be a loss if it lets in the whole materialistic philosophy of results, success, and efficiency. And just here is the problem of a man like Lord Northcliffe, because he is a sort of Prussian superman, who is death on slackness, but blind to any meaning that can't be caught inside of three dimensions. He discerns certain of the creative elements in the coming England: organization, efficiency, business methods, government by experts. He has a knack of playing on the impulses and motives of the democracy. But at least two of the papers controlled by him do not believe in the best qualities of the masses of men whom they are leading. They see that average human nature is easily flattered, is loaded to the gunwale with prejudices, and that it can be manipulated by phrases promising action. Excitement, change, the sense of "something doing," are pleasurable to the average man. A newspaper programme which "makes and unmakes" ministers, creates heroes and villains, wrecks and reconstructs, gives a continuous performance of moving

pictures to its readers. In the flicker of the film ideas and true political policy lose their sovereignty. By making use of the new forces of democracy, such men as the modern popular journalists may have it in their power a little to misdirect them. This failure of sane public opinion to register itself is almost inevitable in a society where the millionaire proprietor is able to conduct a chain of newspapers which reflect his own mind, and which slightly misrepresent his readers in certain matters by giving them what they want in the general news of the world, in pictures, and admirable special articles, and in hammering through a programme of reconstruction, much of which is sound and responsive to the needs of the community.

"The New Statesman," with its authoritative supplements, "The New Age," popularizing the trade guild idea, the "Cambridge Magazine," with its digest of foreign opinion, and "The New Europe," are quite irreplaceable, because no other periodicals fulfil their function.

Just as labour has failed as yet to produce its political, industrial and artistic leaders, so it has failed as yet to create a periodical which fully expresses its aspirations. Such an organ would have a circulation of several million copies, instead of the small choice circulation of intellectualistic papers like "The Labour Leader," and "The Herald," which are delightful reading but which represent valuable sections of the labour movement, rather than the mass movement itself. Let it be said, however, that the analyses by Philip Snowden, Ramsay Macdonald, Cole, Hobson,

and H. N. Brailsford are not to be neglected by any one who enjoys acute thinking. And the same reader will find power in the verses of Ewer, and a true spiritual quality in the homilies of George Lansbury.

The illustrated weeklies are a "treat." One wonders why the United States has nothing comparable. In fairness, let me state that "The Saturday Evening Post" and "Collier's Weekly" meet a need which is unmet in England. And of monthly popular periodicals there is nothing in the British list so good as "Scribner's," "The Century," "Harper's," "The Metropolitan," and several more.

"The Manchester Guardian" is one of the best newspapers in England. To praise its editorials, its dramatic reviews, its balance of news, its judicial, and yet spirited, attitude to custom and change, is "a work of supererogation." It is as good as an amalgam of "The Springfield Republican," "The Kansas City Star," and "The Dallas News."

"The Westminster Gazette" has a delightful literary department where they turn English verses into decasyllabic Latin, develop the capabilities of words whose initial letter is z, and write tiny essays on "How to Enter an Omnibus." The leaders in "The Westminster" are among the most influential in England.

A. G. Gardiner writes political studies and character sketches in his "Daily News" that remind an American of Colonel Watterson's best work.

I have read J. L. Garvin for many years, because he is honest and intelligent and earnest. Lately he

has felt the necessity of "putting a punch" into it every week till he writes portentously of "tanks," which should be left for Chesterton, and of the map of Europe, which is the vested interest of Hilaire Belloc.

The best writers of Great Britain sprinkle themselves about on the editorial pages in a way that makes the breakfast paper a voyage of discovery. Kipling, Wells, Galsworthy, Robert Bridges, William Watson, and Shaw are far more generous to their public for a ha'penny and a penny than Mrs. Wharton and Mr. Howells are to us for anything short of a quarter and thirty-five cents.

The individualistic penny and tuppenny weeklies and monthlies are unfailingly bright. It seems strange to me that we have nothing of the sort in America. The suffrage papers; the one-man affairs, like Sarolea's "Everyman"; "The British Weekly," with its excellent literary letter by Robertson Nicoll; "The Christian Commonwealth," with its analysis of labour conditions and of advanced Nonconformist thought, "Common Sense"—all combine to give the impression of a self-conscious public opinion fed and renewed by the free play of the individualistic mind. Christabel Pankhurst has her "Britannia," in stern advocacy of the war, and Sylvia Pankhurst, repudiated by her mother, flies peace-doves from her "Woman's Dreadnought."

Of the heavier reviews, "The Fortnightly," "Nineteenth Century" and "The Contemporary" are valuable for obtaining that sweep of international

affairs of which we in America catch hardly a glimpse in our popular magazines.

But the best of the reviews to my taste is "The Round Table." Men like Lionel Curtis, Ker, and A. E. Zimmern are working here at the principles of reconstruction for industry and the empire. It is solid, close-wrought work, wrestling at the problems of the modern world with an absence of theory and rhetoric. No other single publication recently has had the influence of "The Round Table" in directing British public opinion, I am told. "The Round Table" helped to prepare the ground for the changes which came through with the war. They and a half dozen other periodicals and the Fabian group and the Workers' Educational Association and the workers themselves have between them sprung the most dramatic revolution in one hundred years, and it is still only in its faint beginnings.

Somebody is going to tell me that my list isn't complete, and that I have omitted the most weighty, the most significant paper on the island. But this is not a catalogue, and it is not a guide to self-help. It would be impertinent for an outsider to criticize or attempt to "place" British journalism. All that is intended here is an expression of what "strikes" one American who reads for pleasure.

FREE SPEECH

One of our most prominent American social workers returned home the other day from a foreign tour. She was quoted as saying that she had found liberty

suppressed everywhere. A moment later in the interview it appeared that her experience in England consisted in cutting across the island and jumping aboard her boat at Liverpool. That lets her out. If she had remained in England she would have found that liberty is a lively though contested possession there just now. In a time of incalculable strain certain conscientious objectors are dealt with unjustly and shamefully while some thousands are dealt with honourably. And conscientious objectors are only two per cent. of the total number of claimants for exemption. These others are in "reserved trades," they are the "sole support" of a family, they have built up an individual business. Conscientious objectors would never have been heard from if Parliament had not created their status. There are no conscientious objectors in Germany; there is the shooting-squad. There are plenty of criticisms that lie against England for mental sloth, for mistaken foreign policy, for unconscious and deep pride; but a man is still free in many instances to carry out his policy and speak his mind. England still struggles to be free. One proof is this: in the year 1915 she had 698 labour strikes. At once the vigilant critic of England will say, "The labouring man is not patriotic." Let me first point out that this is an exactly opposite charge from the charge that he has lost his personal liberty. Secondly, it is untrue. He is patriotic, but he feels no loyalty towards the profit-makers. The striking miners were accused of holding up coal from the navy and endangering the battleship fleet. But

they showed figures to a friend of mine which proved the exact point to which they could proceed with their strike without lessening the source of supply for the navy. The worker is enough of a man to die for his country or work for it till he drops ; but he does not care to be exploited by profiteers under the glib phrases of national service. The labour situation to-day is the proof that England is free, though free within rigid limits.

But England has no publicity sense. She advertises all her blunders and crimes, and goes silent when she does well. The failure of Loos is publicly proclaimed. The Admiralty competes with the War Office in giving bad impressions of great things done. England allows even in war-time a measure of freedom of speech in Hyde Park, in "The Herald," "Common Sense," "The Cambridge Magazine," "The Woman's Dreadnought," "The Woman Worker," "The Labour Leader," "The Nation," "Forward." She allows it to Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden, Ponsonby, Trevelyan, Lowes Dickinson, Morel, Brailsford, Lansbury, Sylvia Pankhurst, and a hundred other voices and organs that continue the great tradition of personal liberty. But as time passes, the restriction increases, the area of privilege lessens. And yet wherever the War Office has stepped in and encroached on the liberty of the subject and the claims of private property, the civil courts have upheld the rights of the person against military necessity. A series of decisions in the last two years proves this. When England has a choice offering that would win praise

and sympathy, she puts a veil of silence between the attraction and the neutral public. To any one that understands England this is agreeable, because it is all a part of her muddling greatness. But to an outsider the din of perennial, lively protest seems like the wail of lost souls, a race sold to slavery. It has given a wrong impression to America, where it is not yet fully realized that the wealth of England and the industrial work of England are the sources of strength for the Allied cause, and that the Somme offensive was only the gentle prelude to the music that will tune up. And yet the Somme offensive sucked up the German forces from both fronts, let Italy and Russia smash ahead, and enabled France to shake the army corps from Verdun. The big guns and the shells of England's four thousand seven hundred controlled shops are the decisive factors of this war.

Now, while it is a pity to puzzle us who are Americans, there is no serious harm in it. But the real demerit of putting the worst foot forward is that it misleads the enemy into thinking there isn't a big kick coming from the best foot in the background. I am a peace-loving man, and in the interests of the German peasant and clerk I wish that Germany could have a picture of the English effort which is only in the first arc of its ascending curve. The Government would then withdraw its troops on all fronts, cede Alsace-Lorraine, sign treaties, and thank their tribal deity for the easy terms of peace. The whole English effort is the spectacle of a democracy on the march. It is accompanied by grumbles and mistakes, and is as haphazard

an affair as our first two years of Civil War ; but back of the wasted motion is an inexhaustible strength.

The key of the whole performance is set by the British army and navy. No one has perfectly caught the essential note of the British fighting men. Mr. Kipling has a compelling way of rendering the affair. Because he is a man of genius, he creates his effect, he leaves his impression ; but his is not an interpretation of the spirit of these men of the new army so much as it is an extension of his old method of rendering Mulvaney & Co. Mr. Noyes has cast the drama on sea and land in an heroic Elizabethan key, but a modern democracy does not play up to his setting. It goes about things in its own way, tight-lipped in suffering, and good-humoured in bad weather. The War Office ought to turn some one loose among the million in Picardy who would really capture the extraordinary ensemble. O. Henry would have been the man for this job.

There has long been a slang phrase for a man who was going out for an evening of pleasure in the West End of London. When he wished to say that he was planning a jolly supper party and an evening at a music hall, he summed it up by saying he was " going west." The men at the front who tell of the death of a comrade say, " He has gone west."

The British Tommy throws a lugubrious exaggeration of shrapnel and flies and trench-mud into his songs, fills his chorus with expressions of a desire to go home, and sticks it at the Somme. As G. K. Chesterton said to me :

" The English people have never found their full

expression in religion or poetry. It is in humour where the English nature comes through."

He sang for me the following hymn of hate, used at the front :—

I want to go 'ome,
I want to go 'ome,
I don't want to go to the trenches no more
Where whizz-bangs and shrapnels and coal-boxes
 roar,
Tike me away o'er the sea
Where the Allymans can't get at me.
Oh my! I don't want to die,
I want to go 'ome.

The popular Tommy attitude toward trench-life is that of "grouching," and no one has interpreted this so well as one of the men at the front, Captain Bruce Bairnsfather. He gives no mock heroics about the glory of sacrifice. His sketches are a humorously disgusted record of water underfoot, rain overhead, barbed wire, sand-bags, and bully beef. I doubt if any other nation in the moment of supreme strain would circulate his pamphlets by the hundred thousand as good recruiting material.

But England knows that if she altogether quenched free speech she would lose the war. She would lose the war because she would be destroying the spirit of her men, which escapes the mud and scum of things by spattering them back with a jest.

Free speech is a fundamental requirement of English nature. The Englishman must speak his mind openly, register his "kick" against discomforts, and be

"agin' the Government." With that clearance he settles down to steady work. No one knows what would happen if the nation were thoroughly muzzled. The attempt has never before been made. It has been made only in part in this war.

THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM

A couple of critics of these chapters on social change have said that I am too buoyant in rendering a painful process. The reconstruction is not going to be as easy as all that, they say. Unskilled labour is going to have the fight of its life. Women face a bitter two or three years. The forces of reaction have been strengthened by three years of militarism. The trade-unions have been shot to pieces by the concessions they have made under the Munitions Acts. The gains which cost them three generations to achieve have all been swept away and will never be restored. A large portion of the press has been nothing but the official organ for doctored news. Many hundreds of men are in jail because "Christianity has become punishable by ten years' penal servitude under the Military Service Act" (which is a pungent reference to conscientious objectors).

I have given a wrong impression if the reader thinks that the principle of democratic control is being established without a severe fight; but the point is that it is being established. When one has only a short time and limited space at disposal, it is hard to render a social change without either writing wordy surface generalizations or else getting messed

up with details. Perhaps the simplest way of making clear that it has cost suffering to win this freedom, is to consider one application of democratic control in these years of stress.

I choose the "right of asylum." It is a fair choice, because the right of asylum rocked in the balance. It was violently assailed by the Scotland Yard police and the Government itself. The hounding of Russian political refugees in London, which has gone on under cover of "military necessity," probably injured the English cause more severely in America in the early days than any other official blunder of the war. The news was spread broadcast among our social workers.

For centuries England has given her hospitality to exiles from other lands who had fled from tyranny. To her in time of persecution have come the Huguenots, Louis Kossuth, Mazzini, Karl Marx, Engels, Bakunin, Kropotkin, French Communards, and now for many years Russian refugees. As one of the peers in the House of Lords said :

It has been our boast for centuries that this country is a hospitable refuge for those who flee from other lands. At the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572 and of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, we were the refuge for the Huguenots. Victor Hugo came to Jersey to escape from the despotism of Napoleon III. Those who have sought a refuge here have been subject to the common law, answerable for their actions, but not for their opinions.

Under cover of the war the Scotland Yard police began to harass the Russian refugees in London.

They attacked the Russian Seamen's Union. The Russian Seamen's Union exists to fight the conditions under which the Russian sailors work. It exposed "the beating of the men, their confinement in cages, their being put in chains, deprived of food, heavy fines, flogging." It concerned itself with the conditions of the ships and the low wages. By the Russian combination law the right to organize was denied to Russian seamen, so their union had to locate its centre of activity in a foreign country, and chose Belgium. It was driven out from Antwerp in October of 1914 by the advance of the German army. It crossed to London. On December 20, 1915, the police of Scotland Yard raided the office of the union, and seized the documents, including a list of persons in Russia with whom the union corresponded. At the same time the home of Dimitri Anitchkin, secretary of the union, was raided, and his manuscripts and letters for ten years back were confiscated. So heavy and far-reaching was the hand of authority that when the union appealed to the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union of England, the general secretary, E. Cathery, wrote :

You must not forget you are a foreigner in a foreign country, although you belong to one of our allies ; but we have got to look after the interest of our country at present, and do not want any unpleasantness at the present time. Under the Defence of the Realm Act we can be called before the authorities for doing things we can do with freedom in normal times.

A little group of English people saw that the ancient right of asylum was about to be abolished. So they

made their appeal to the British trade-unions. In "The Railway Review," "The Yorkshire Factory Times," "The Amalgamated Society of Engineers Journal," and "The Cotton Factory Times" they saw to it that articles of protest appeared.

But the police were determined that free speech should not prevail. A labour conference was to be held in London on January 6, 1916, and a leaflet had been prepared, setting out the facts of the attack on the Russian refugees, and called an "Open Letter to Trade Unionists." Accordingly, on January 5, the police raided the headquarters of the "Russian Political Prisoners' and Exiles' Relief Committee," at 96, Lexham Gardens, Kensington, London. They seized one thousand copies of a financial report, containing the seditious information that the Woolwich trades council had given six pounds to the Russian committee, that the National Union of Railwaymen of Bletchley had given fourteen shillings, that the Independent Labour party of Tantobie had contributed eleven shillings and eightpence. Exhilarated by their success, the police proceeded to commandeer the reprints in leaflet form of the articles that had appeared in "The Railway Review," "The Yorkshire Factory Times," and "The Amalgamated Society of Engineers' Journal." Nor did they overlook a thousand copies of the "Open Letter to Trade Unionists," which were to have been distributed on the next day.

The Home Secretary, Mr. Herbert Samuel, said to the House of Commons on July 11, 1916:

"Russians of military age settling in this country

will, unless they prefer to return for military service in Russia, be required to enlist in the British army. The details of the scheme are now being worked out."

They were. The police set to work illegally and without due authority and said to the Russian refugees :

" You have to go back to Russia. Here is your ticket ; you are to be at Euston Station on such and such a day."

Charles Sarno had come from Russia three years previously. An order was served upon him ; he was to be deported to Russia. The order was challenged. When it came to argument the representatives of the Crown abandoned the case. Immediately on leaving the court, Sarno was again arrested, and told that he was to be put on board a ship bound for Russia.

It was announced in the House of Lords that no invitation or request whatever had come from the Russian Government for England to take this action. It was a purely spontaneous and gratuitous act on the part of the British Home Office. The Home Secretary stated it was quite false that he had ever ordered any man to go to Russia, and he said that there would be no deportations. Finally, Lord Sheffield, on July 27, 1916, made a well-reasoned speech to the House of Lords in which he defended the right of asylum, lashed the Government and the police, and etched the eminent Jewish Home Secretary, Mr. Herbert Samuel, in unforgettable terms. He said :

" If I were a Jew or had a drop of Jewish blood in my veins, I would sooner cut my hand off than say to one of these men, ' If you do not enlist in the British

army, you, being a Polish Jew, shall go back, not where you like, to any part of the world, but to Poland or to Russia.' ”

Earl Russell stood side by side with Lord Sheffield in defying the Government policy, and once again, as on more occasions than one in British history, lords saved the liberty of individual men from the encroachments of the Government and the indifference of the Commons. The English people had no wish, of course, for this tyranny. They had no knowledge of it. Graham Wallas has warned us against the modern conception of the “ Psychology of the Crowd.” He has warned us against seeing populations as individually thoughtful and temperate and collectively blind and ferocious. It is the fallacy of our generation to believe that whole peoples go insane in a wild swirl, and do this thing and wish that thing by imitation and suggestion and sympathy. Of course political movements are in fact carried out “ by men conscious and thoughtful, though necessarily ill informed,” and these movements seem to the slack observer, fed on our popular sociologists, “ to be due to the blind and unconscious impulses of masses ‘incapable both of reflection and reasoning.’ ” It is so with the right of asylum and the suppression of the Russians. The English people have not gone war-mad. They have not risen up to overthrow the principles of freedom and justice for which they have in the main long contended.

But under cover of the war, when the attention of millions of the inhabitants was strained on another matter, a little group of militarists, politicians, and

policemen have tried to carry out a reactionary programme. It is familiar to all students of the institution of police that it is the tendency of their practice at times of strain to "take away a man's character by administrative decree on secret police information." It is not that they fail to act honestly on the best of their "information and belief;" it is that the secret and one-sided examination, followed by peremptory action, is not a perfect method for establishing truth. "Spy," "crook," "anarchist," and "pervert" are words for them that do duty in place of public legal procedure.

The attempts to harass Russian refugees were for a time fewer and feebler after Lord Sheffield spoke. In November the British authorities removed four Russians from a Danish ship, but their case was tried in open court. And in a case tried on the same day, January 11 of this year, concerning a French political refugee, the Lord Chief-Justice laid down the British law for all such cases. He said:

"Parliament had not given the Home Secretary power to make an order which would forcibly remove a man from this country to another country to which he did not wish to go."

English justice refused to be muzzled by conscription, munition acts, military service acts, and the Defence of the Realm Act. So ended the second chapter of this record. Chapter one showed certain English authorities as stupid as the police of Chicago and New York during "anarchist" flurries. Chapter two revealed the English people as alert in the defence of

freedom as in the days before the war. The right of asylum had been reaffirmed.

Then came chapter three, with the entrance of the new British Government. The new Government represents the triumph of the executive over the Parliamentary legislative division of authority. Mr. Bonar Law announced on February 27 to the House of Commons that Russians in England must enlist as British soldiers or be deported to Russia. On the same day at the Old-Street Police Court the magistrate said to David Cohen, a Russian :

We do not want you here if you are not going to do your duty. If you succeed in proving that you are of Russian nationality I shall do my best to get you sent back.

On March 7 I attended a debate in the House of Lords, where Lord Sheffield pointed out that the home of an Englishwoman had been raided while she was held in prison with no charge made against her, and in her absence papers were confiscated. These papers were pamphlets in defence of the right of asylum. Lord Sheffield then cited the case of a Russian refugee in London who wished to return to the United States, where he had taken out his first naturalization papers. The letter of the Home Office was produced in evidence, and this letter refused the Russian's request.

The Secretary of State for War, the Earl of Derby, replied for the Government. He said that one of the seized pamphlets, entitled "The Right of Asylum" was of such a character as to make it unfit for circulation at this time. Very skilfully he created an "atmos-

phere " about that pamphlet, so that the listener felt that it was treasonable and seditious. But I possess a copy of that pamphlet, and it is not unfit for circulation in a free country. It is an appeal by London Russians not to be sent back.

The " noble Earl " went on to refer to one of the societies of Russians as suspicious, and therefore a fair field for official investigation. He forgot that he was defending an official policy which would place those suspicious persons in the army.

The Lord Chancellor spoke next. Lord Finlay, the present Lord Chancellor, is always worth hearing because he is naïve. It was he who in a debate on admitting women as solicitors, said :

The question is : What is the proper sphere of women ? I do not believe that the active practice of a profession is compatible with the proper work of women as mothers and in attending to their families. I regret that there are many women who do not have an opportunity of marriage in this country. Probably in time opportunities will be found for them in other parts of the Empire where they can become the mothers of mighty nations.

In the present debate on the right of asylum, he was equally delightful when he said that the Russian political refugees owed a duty to their nation, Russia, which at that time was an autocracy.

Lord Sheffield was snowed under by these vigorous reactionaries, and the old man hobbled away on two canes. But for all that, he had made it clear that an ancient right was being removed by executive decree, instead of by constitutional methods. If the British

people wish to abolish the right of asylum, they should be permitted to do so by Act of Parliament.

No nation, with all its young men in the field, will tolerate the presence of non-combatant aliens, filling the jobs vacated by the citizen army. The Mayor of Bethnal Green said recently.

Men have to sacrifice their little businesses or their small factories to serve at the front, and neighbours of foreign parentage step into their places and reap the reward.

Two other mayors of East London, representatives of the borough councils, local tribunals, and of the London County Council, supported his statement and passed a resolution calling on Parliament to remedy the evil. The alien must be willing to defend the nation in which he makes his residence or else leave for some other land not under war-pressure. But he should receive the right to select his destination. To force him to return to a country which would imprison him, is as unjust as it is for him to claim protection in a country which he is unwilling to defend. With the establishment of a democratic Russia, the alien is asked to make his choice between serving in the British Army or returning for service in Russia.

PUBLIC OPINION

England would perhaps have been one more quiet, comfortable power of the second rank but for its northern and western counties. Its recent history would have been the history of Holland if it had not

been for the storehouse of coal and iron in the industrial provinces. It was out of them, and out of the people bred there, that she has derived her vast strength in meeting the new world created by the industrial revolution that came in one century and a half ago on the invention of machinery and in meeting the unexampled fiery test of the present war. Those northern and western parts of Great Britain have won the fight of democracy, and established the principle of democratic control. What we used to mean by England was southern England. It was Oxford, Cambridge, and London. The genius and the vitality of the kingdom were gathered there, and the radiations went out from those centres to make the impress of what the world knew as English influence.

Life is no longer a monopoly possession of the upper classes, of the male sex, of the mother country, of the Westminster Parliament, of the captains of industry. Life is not a matter to be postponed to the hereafter and the choir invisible. It is the product here and now of one's will and energy, fed by impulse, and shaped by thought. One's self is the person concerned, and the happiest society in which to feel at home is a democracy of equals.

Imperceptibly the change has come. The governing class has ceased to govern. The type of Englishman who was born to rule is left without a job. Power and virtue have departed from the old order. Patriarchal England, reared in the humanities, impervious to modern ideas, indifferent to alien points of view, unconsciously arrogant, kindly, cultivated, and honour-

able, was unfitted to the modern world of quick thinking—swift action, sympathetic co-operation. It is dying in our sight. In the first weeks of war the shell of that little England collapsed; the organism itself had long since weakened. In its place has arisen a far more formidable, far more democratic state, the British commonwealth.

As fast as power shifts a psychological change takes place. The English nature and character are visibly altering. A swifter order of men are in control. The men of power show Celtic characteristics. Under the touch of the new influence, which is industrial and democratic, there is a brightening and quickening. The old inarticulateness passes. The race grows talkative. It responds to excitement.

Public opinion, as it reverberates in London, is no longer the public opinion of Great Britain. It is not the public opinion of the Cornwall miners, of the South Wales miners, of the industrial centres of Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, and Glasgow. It is not the public opinion of Montreal, and Sydney. London and the south of England do not speak for the commonwealth. "The Manchester Guardian" understands the sentiment of Glasgow and Montreal, but the London "Morning Post" does not.

When Lloyd George struck out his suggestion for Ireland, he spoke the requiem of the England known to us in memoirs, novels, and letters; the England of our college literary course, of the historic tradition, the caste system, the landed gentry, the noble lady, the faithful servitor, the hackney coachman, the genial

vicar, and the Oxford don. He proposed that the matter of Ireland be handed over to the imperial conference, the congress of the five democracies. England's time had gone. She couldn't solve the ancient wrong, but the new commonwealth could solve it. Take it away from the tired kingdom, and give it to the young democracy. Government is no longer an affair of historic tradition. It is a very troublesome matter of digging out the facts, and applying them to brand-new and rapidly changing conditions. It requires qualities of swift decision and execution. Industrial working-class England takes over the Government, assumes control of life, and side by side with radical Scotland and Wales and Australia and Canada creates the new state. With the passing of Little England, the "literary" Englishman whom we have known passes, the courtly and simple nobleman, the charming litterateur, the "scholar and gentleman," and there comes in his stead a democratic person, open to ideas, willing to learn, and very willing to work out in partnership the problems of democratic control.

I am trying to untangle what seems to me the silent and real opinion of the nation from the voices that fill the air. Any one would be singularly inept who pretended to interpret with any finality the public opinion of a people. What I give is merely the product of contacts with a few thousand British. The experience is all necessarily incomplete and superficial. This is offered merely as what I have seen and heard. It is a collection of little fragments of public opinion.

The stuff talked in certain London centres is misleading and mischievous and sometimes wilfully malicious. It is the bitter cry of persons who have lost their influence. There are little groups of elderly men and women in London who inflame themselves with hate of the German people. They speak of them as a nation of beasts, outside the human race. This is very unrepresentative of English public opinion, which has made the clear distinction in its mind between the doped, duped German people and the band of predatory assassins who are in control of them.

Again, on Ireland, I can quote an English officer, whom I heard say on his return from Dublin :

“ Remove the Nationalist politicians from Westminster. Suppress the Irish newspapers. Then give them conscription. They will yield.”

He and “ The Morning Post ” represent that minute fraction of “ die hards ” who feel the tide floating them down the beach and try to dig their heels into the sand. The will of the British people is for a settlement of the Irish question. There is no hatred of Ireland among the masses of the community. The desire of the average Englishman is to be let alone and to let other people alone.

One does not need to be a prophet to know that perhaps the most famous question in the world for the next two years will be that of Ireland. The best of the British are resolutely determined on a thorough-going answer. Such men as Dr. Fisher, the Minister of Education, William Temple, president of the Workers' Educational Association, Lord Northcliffe,

the Round Table group, Gilbert Chesterton, Massingham, Lansbury, Asquith, Lloyd George, desire a just and far-reaching solution, and mean to have it. The grouping of those names, representing implacable hostilities of belief on every other subject under the sun, proves that a mobilization of forces has taken place in behalf of Ireland.

It is always necessary to find out whether a statement of opinion represents the mass consciousness or whether it is spoken from personal bitterness and class interest. I can quote Leo Maxse, who writes in his "National Review," "There is nothing in common between the standpoint of the civilized part of Europe and the United States." But I am quoting a shrill and lonely voice. The mass of people in England are as unaware of America as the middle West is unaware of England. They are not scornful or antagonistic. They are indifferent with the large indifference of ignorance. In the part of the English community who are aware of the United States as the "big show," to quote a Broad Street cotton broker, there is little resentment and much good-will. The "Tommy," the farmer, the shopkeeper, when he meets the individual American, has the tolerance of his kind for all alien folk that come from some other county than his own. They all seem a little strange to him, but they are "all right." He includes the American with the Australian and the Welshman.

Public opinion, then, is not really concerned at all with exterminating German clerks, oppressing Irish peasants, annoying American business men. It is

not "out" to govern the world or rule "backward races."

What are its concerns?

Its main concern at the moment is to go through with a bad job to the end, to win a victory in order to have a lasting peace. Englishmen hate war, and they were first astonished, then irritated, and finally angry that any nation should let loose a hideous slaughter into a fairly peaceable world. They were slow to believe German methods of frightfulness. In the early months I could get a hearing, but little credence, for the atrocities I had witnessed. A good-natured scepticism was the response. But once thoroughly in a nasty business, they are now determined to see it through. They will hang on. It is hard for them to pry loose when they have taken hold. When their clutch has automatically clicked and got set, there seems to be no device in the machinery for setting itself free. And that offers the chance for the imperialists, with their "spheres of influence" and territorial claims, to turn what was idealistic in the early purposes of the young men to their own advantage. "Why shouldn't England take a bit in return for the sacrifice?" One hears this idea occasionally expressed. This is not the will of England. The vast majority went into the war in a spirit of devotion, and they wish to come out of it as clean-handed and clean-minded as they entered. Which spirit and policy will prevail? The more thoughtful of the English are both worried and hopeful.

There is a powerful peace movement, not representing

anything approaching a majority. It is, in fact, a small fraction of the community ; but I call it powerful because it worries the authorities, and because it is growing, though very slowly. The impression which Mr. Trevelyan has given to America of a widespread desire for an immediate peace—a desire muzzled from expression by the authorities—is false ; but there is an increasing receptivity to the idea of peace. I saw a woman, Mrs. Walker, arrested in Hyde Park for advocating “a peace by honourable negotiations ” (her own words). The audience was not hostile.

The next concern of public opinion is with the internal situation. The mind of the man belonging to the upper possessing class has become accustomed to change. For a generation he has felt the foundation growing unsteady. The institutions which seemed to him immutable are visibly modifying—the institutions of property, church, and marriage. He is not in favour of the ever-spreading change, but he has mentally accepted the fact that change is taking place. The old authority has passed to other hands, and he is bewildered by the juggle which has transformed upper-class rule into democratic control. Nothing in itself now surprises him, because the whole process is amazing. Without a protest he has seen state socialism installed at Westminster and feminism at the War Office. Patiently he awaits what will happen next and what will come of it all. What has been undermined is “a certain organic conception of society—the conception of the hierarchy of authorities which dominated the Middle Ages. The old order has been

destroyed by the new ideals of justice and liberty, beginning with religion, passing on to politics," modifying industry, "and reaching at last the private relations of marriage and the family." These new ideals have penetrated the thought of the community, and have gradually sought fulfilment in the lagging, painful processes of legislation. The older type of politician was unable to frame such revolutionary concepts into acts, so what has happened is the creation of a new order of civil servants. "What is growing, rapidly, and yet almost unobserved by the public, is expert legislation by permanent officials."

It is small wonder that the elderly, kindly gentleman whom we have taken as representative of his class is dazed by the shifting world of flux where once he stood firmly. He is on a moving-sidewalk, and he is quite sure he is under way, though he himself is not walking. But not only is that gentle conservative puzzled by the advance; the general public have not intellectually realized the change which their own impulse toward freedom has created. Public opinion to-day is constantly in the attitude of a man who has his desires answered before he has stated them. The democratic state is moving faster than the individual citizen, and he is mentally confused. The moving finger writes, and public opinion will have to find its place in the appendix to the Book of Acts, recording the establishment of democratic control during the Great War.

WHERE THE LANE TURNS

A letter has come to me from a friend. He is a

charming writer, fellow of a Cambridge college. He objects to my summary dismissal of the older England as recorded in the preceding chapter. He says :

“ If ever there was a typical Oxford man, with an Oxford cast of thought in the direct Oxford tradition, it is H. A. L. Fisher, the new minister of education. The new ministry of labour, being forced to get a permanent head capable of dealing with the problems they are up against, does not get a trade union leader, but an Eton-Balliol scholar and fellow of All Souls. I am afraid, as a narrow-minded pedant, I am convinced that brains are what always tell in the long run, and I don't think commerce or “ life ” or the newer universities are yet the equal of the old universities in producing and training brain. Moreover, Oxford and Cambridge are not ‘ south of England,’ as you suggest. Their geographical position has nothing to do with their nature. They are the oldest and most independent republics in England and totally ex-territorial, like the city of Washington.”

Of course he is exactly right, and I believe we are both right. Now is the meeting of the old and new, and even a profound modification of structure will include vestigial traces.¹ Every summary statement concerning so complex a thing as the modern community must wait for verification on psychological records which have not yet been made. “ Crowd psychology ” is still in the hands of hasty generalizers and pseudo-scientists, who write sweepingly of the “ herd instinct.” So it is with this book. It is a

¹ See Appendix, “ The White Knight.”

personal impression, and it paints in broad colours. A. E. Zimmern, of the reconstruction committee, H. N. Spalding, of the welfare department of the ministry of munitions, and Dr. Fisher, the minister of education, have all cautioned me against over-emphasizing the speed of change in so stable a community as the British nation and against making too logical and intellectualistic an analysis of British character. The Briton is a sociable, humoursome fellow who moves slowly and is not logical in his ways, but proceeds along the lines of his own individualistic psychology in contact with his own peculiar and ancient environment.

But a reconstruction is under way. A peaceable, slow-moving race has been swept by the winds of doctrine and the forces of change. Great questions are suddenly opened that were regarded as settled or non-existent, or buried in the silence of respectability. Let me show the method of that change in the concrete instance of education. Two systems of education exist to-day in England side by side. There is the long-established system of private education for the upper class by the great schools of Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Westminster, and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. There is public education by local boards and new universities. The two systems are unrelated, and so, from the point of view of a national system of education, they are anomalous.

But because there is this anomaly, it does not follow that the reconstruction will "hack its way through." The process will be a filtration, and not a surgical operation. Slowly the great universities will be

modernized, and steadily the new institutions will be urged to aim at the level of culture which the humanities gave. A "bread-and-butter" education alone will never be the one aim of English instruction. The arts alone will never again be in sole command of the field. But a new programme will be wrought out of both sets of values.¹

From a certain public school twenty-seven out of twenty-eight scholarships to the university were taken in the humanities. It is improbable that twenty-seven out of twenty-eight represents the actual proportion in aptitude of that group for a literary culture as contrasted with a scientific culture. The probable proportion would be more like fourteen for the humanities, and fourteen for the science. To redress that balance will be the task of the coming reconstruction, and it will be achieved without upsetting the English temperament and tradition.

One elementary school differs from another as widely as an elementary school differs from Harrow. To level up elementary schools to standard without invading local autonomy is another difficult task of the reconstruction. A few years ago education was decentralized, and the local boards, by refusing government grants, can separate their local institution from the national system. Not by offending these local boards can the betterment come. The Government by its financial grants and by wise suggestion, can,

¹ Compare "National Education," by Lord Haldane ("After-War Problems"), and the educational programme of the Workers' Educational Association.

however, influence the local boards to modern methods. Little by little modern educators will sit on those boards, and two men of forward-looking mind can swing a session of "stand-patters." It may be, at some point in the future, that full control of education will pass back to a central authority, and that what is now advisory will become mandatory. But the public are far from ready to accept such a change, and the local boards will continue to be the machinery through which the minister of education will operate.

The period of adolescence of the working-class population will be gradually dealt with. Between fourteen and eighteen years of age there is a vast waste of vocational and cultural potentiality in the child. That waste is clearly recognized. The youngster as yet goes out from board school into blind-alley jobs, which leave him unskilled and ignorant as an adult. Continuation schools, a system of part-time work and part-time instruction, a raising of the school age, more pay, and better teachers—these and a dozen other details will all be handled by the method I have outlined, which is never slashing and drastic reform by an autocratic state. It is largely the extension of an ancient practice to a wider group. It is partly the response of a flexible system to new knowledge. It is a gradual method, "brick on brick," as is the English way. But when the builders have completed their task, the structure will be new in the eyes of the community, and the institution housed there will be as little like the "Eton-Balliol" institution as King

George V's commonwealth is like King George IV's England.

The old system of education produced a governing class, a group of men of integrity and trained intelligence. They legislated, colonized, hunted, and followed the life of culture with distinction, and they continued to make England the greatest of the nations. As long as the old formulæ and the old ethics were sufficient, the inheritors of that tradition were the inevitable masters of government. But suddenly the two aspects of government made an astonishing turn. Control of the environment entered on a new development with the coming of steam-power and machinery. The peasant and yeoman community passed out of existence. The land went back to grass. Industrial cities and massed populations came in. And that new control of the environment altered the other aspect of government—the relationship of man to man. Industrial organization created new alignments of party, interest, and class. The governing class began to flutter in a world not realized, like the thin-voiced shades about Ulysses. But the mass of the people, to whom the power passed, have not yet found their leaders.

Two civilizations are co-existent here. One is a very ancient and noble civilization. The other is new and chaotic, caught in the process of becoming. The ancient civilization was sure of itself, possessing a tradition and code of action. The new is too busy to develop a technique of life or manner. It doesn't know where it is going, but it is in motion. The

effect is that of electric lighting in Warwick Castle or a trolley-car to Stonehenge. Everywhere in Great Britain one feels the modern thrusting through the rich soil and surface cake of what is older than the life of man. In the little Hampshire village of Emsworth bright, new jerry-built bungalows rise close to the huddle of centuries-old fishermen's cottages, and motor-cars flash past thatched roofs under the great spire of Chichester and come to rest in a renovated moss-grown inn. Peasants touch their hats as you pass and call you "sir," and the girl conductor of the omnibus is sometimes as curt and scornful as a Chicago expressman. In the Devon hamlet of Lewdown the farm women with whom we lived continue to make clotted cream as their likes made it when *John Ridd* climbed to his courting, but eagerly borrow my London paper every evening after the chores are done. The Church is still firmly established, while the congregation waits for the afternoon service, and the afternoon service is held in the cinema house. The King is a very gallant and modest gentleman, who does not possess the power of Arthur Henderson nor the influence of H. W. Massingham. Still stands the House of Lords, but the lords of power are Devonport, Rhondda, and Northcliffe, business lords. The telephone and tram-car stretch their wires through lanes where the Cavaliers rode, and there is an excellent telegraph service in the village in which Baring Gould is writing the legends of his countryside.

The new-comers are not taking the kingdom by violence. They do not tear down the old. No, they

take the heart out of it, and let it wither like a plant stung by the frost. The wreckers will never march through England armed with condemnation writs and blasting-powder. But gradually the light railways spread their threads, while "The Daily Mail" scatters its modernism to millions. It is possible by careful selection to convince one's self that the former things have not passed away. It is true that they linger, but new forces are in command, and England of the poets is an old-age pensioner in the house of her daughters of the British commonwealth. They make war in vain who fight against these things. Raw energy is in the saddle, and the galled jade must gallop to new spurs.

THE NEW WAY

Liberalism has ceased to be a political theory and has become a programme of reconstruction, planning reform by intensive intellectual effort. After many ups and downs, following the reform of 1832, a period of deadness set in, and gradually middle-class liberalism, barren of ideas, assumed control. It did not come to grips with its world, because it did not have the proper method. But in recent years the way to study human society has been discovered. A group of university men began to put their thought on the organization of human life. The working-class party sprang up. There has never existed so wide a division between the intellectuals and the workers in England as in America. The English workers have never swallowed whole the Marxian

analysis. They have preferred step by step reform to the spreading of a theory.

As the result of much patient piecemeal work, based on "the accumulation and analysis of economic knowledge," a whole new body of legislation was incorporated into English life, beginning with the year 1906. That process continues. The principles of this reconstruction are derived from the conception that a community must work hard with its mind in order to organize a good society. Untrammelled by dogma, the practical English intelligence, both of the working-class brain and of the intellectuals, has set about reshaping its institutions of property and state. The Fabian Society and "The Round Table" group, the colleges, organized groups of women, all have aided in the work of collecting facts and sharpening the analysis. There have been brilliant scouts like Wells and Shaw. But back of them, and providing them with the equipment for their sorties, are the hard workers with a genius for taking pains, like the Webbs and Seebohm Rowntree. "The development of more delicate logical methods and the accumulation of recorded observations are now making deliberate thought about mankind less inexact and misleading than at any other point in history."

Lately, many persons have been thinking with the lash on them. How to stop the Zeppelins, make shells, and overcome the damage of war—these questions are being dealt with at high speed. The community is becoming aware of itself; it is devising an imperial economy,¹ which correlates industry to

¹ See Appendix, "Trusts" and "Tariff Reform."

national needs and includes the family budget in its process of thought. The easy generalizations of political exiles and closet-philosophers have been displaced by fact-investigations and analysis from the records. *Laissez-faire*, the economic man, economic determinism, and the other substitutes for hard work, no longer content the community which wishes to find itself. Patiently and gropingly, a synthesis for the new society is being formed.

Almost unobserved, a literature is forming around the social movement. It is a literature where the pressure of thought has been so intense and controlled that it has wrought for itself a special style. I feel sure that if Professor Saintsbury were to extend his anthology of "English Prose Rhythms," he would include paragraphs from Bertrand Russell, A. E., Edward Carpenter, Lowes Dickinson, Havelock Ellis, and Graham Wallas. They carry a tone and accent, giving pleasure to the inward ear. These men write a clear and precise English, which travels easily and without fatigue, and often rises to beauty on its own momentum of thought. They seem to have lifted the technique of style to a new level; perhaps no higher than that of several earlier periods, but different. They have introduced a fresh cadence into the prose music of the last four centuries. There is an absence of premeditated eloquence, of overstatement, of the wind of words. There has come a realization that the limit of language in one direction had been reached with "multitudinous seas" and "purple riot," and that the prose writers who pushed along the track of

the poets reached a point of strain in De Quincey and Landor beyond which laughter lurked. The inevitable reaction gave us the clear, cold dreariness of Herbert Spencer and the suppression and aridity of Arnold.

But these modern prose writers, interpreting the new social order, have taken a fresh trail. And I do not doubt they have abolished the purple patch as effectually as they have avoided the anæmia of thwarted impulse. Their meaning is more exactly expressed than in the pages of men who used loosely and cheaply "God," "nature," "happiness," and "society." But the pains of a scientific precision have not silenced the music. There is none of the jumbled terminology of our troubled "sociologists" and psychologists. These men have lifted their scholarship into simplicity. It is perhaps only an interesting chance that two of them are mathematicians, but it is profoundly significant that all of them are students of human society, not in the old literary way of projecting Utopias, but through the process of hard thinking on the facts of life.

"In the end it is the psychological question of fact which will have to settle the ethical question of conduct."

It is no longer enough for us that a passage in a book shall be "well written," as the famous and unintelligent pages of Lecky on prostitution. Writing that concerns itself with society, if it is to win a response from us, must be grounded on observation of the facts. It must bring a scientific method to bear on "the vast and constantly growing accumulation of recorded

observations." Surely in these choice writers of the reconstruction we have that quality which the democracy, if it is wise, will cherish. We have that natural aristocracy, that sovereignty of the best, which alone is able to set a standard for the mass-people.

THE NEW AMERICANISM

Around 20,000,000 happy firesides the fathers of America will gather this night with their unbroken family circle, with their children upon their knees and their wives by their side, happy and prosperous. Contrast this with the fathers, husbands and brothers of the Old World, dying in the ditches. . . . Who is it that would have our President exchange with the blood-bespattered monarchs of the Old World? . . . He is the world teacher, his class is made up of kings, kaisers, czars, princes, and potentates.—*Senator Ollie James, Permanent Chairman of the Democratic National Convention.*

The superb assurance of Captain Hans Rose, coupled with his inimitable ability, shown when he brought the *U-53* into Newport, Rhode Island, paid and received visits of courtesy, handed to an American newspaper man a letter for Ambassador von Bernstorff, dived and was away on a mission of destruction within three hours, carries with it a wholesome savour of knightly conduct that goes home to the moral centre of every American.—"*The Evening Gazette*," *Cedar Rapids, Iowa.*

I write this article as the result of conversations and correspondence with a wide group of Americans and English and French, made up of politicians, economists, historians, psychologists, and literary men. I find in thoughtful men to-day both in America and Europe

a challenge of certain tendencies in our national thought. I believe that challenge to be well grounded. A great mass of talk and letters suddenly came to focus one day in what one man, a distinguished scholar, expressed to me. So in what follows I have taken the lines and phrases of his thought. But what he stated is only the clear expression of what many are saying and feeling.

Certain of our newspapers and of our popular voices have been busy in creating a legend of Americanism which contains an element of falsity. We have displayed a self-complacency in our proclamation of freedom, a readiness to assume that it was our monopoly, and that no other nation understood so fully what it meant or had done such service for it. This has led to a lack of sympathy with other nations that have achieved freedom or are aspiring after it or are helping to strengthen and extend it. This attitude has been reflected in the past in our school histories. The establishment of American independence was represented in these school-books, in newspaper writing, in popular speeches, as a protest against tyranny, a breaking-away from Old-World chains. But this is not how scientific historians of the modern school see that event. Despite her grave mistakes then, England had endowed our States, as she has endowed every settlement of European stock which she has planted, with the institutions of self-government, from which sprang our desire for a wider freedom. Despite the many mistakes she has made since, she has carried freedom and justice to new populations,

and has been an unwearied breeder of free nations. Our popular conception of our Revolution, our self-complacency in our proclamation of freedom as an American monopoly, have kept us out of an organic relation with the whole world of civilization. We have failed in recent years to feel that this world is one, and the cause of freedom a single cause, to whose fortunes no free society can be indifferent or neutral. That breach is a tragedy, perhaps one of the greatest tragedies in history. It has been a bad thing for civilization, because it has weakened the defence of freedom by alienating its strongest advocates from one another, and persuading one of them to stand aloof from its struggles. It has been a bad thing for America, by leading her to imagine that she is not as other nations are, and that the working out of the great issues of civilization in Europe had no interest for her.¹

This falsity in the popular view of the European situation has cut us off from sympathy with other peoples who have loved freedom not less sincerely. We have continually misunderstood England, the tyrant state which America had defied. We have had the curious spectacle of a friendship between the two nations that was almost wholly one-sided. England has repeatedly helped and supported us; we have not really believed that England stood, in the main, for freedom and justice. And what is true of our attitude toward England is true in varying degree of our attitude toward the other "old strugglers" of Europe. We have not believed it was our duty to give support to

¹ See Appendix, "Backward Races."

Belgium, to the French, or to the Italians in the struggle for the enlargement of liberty.

When the autocrats of the Holy Alliance were, as Canning put it, "aspiring to bind Europe in chains," they crushed the movement toward freedom in Italy and Spain, and then purposed to crush it also in Spanish America. Canning, in the name of Great Britain, defied them, recognized the independence of the Spanish colonies, and made it plain that the British fleet would resist any attempt to send armies to South America. He approached our Government with the suggestion that the United States should take their stand by the side of Great Britain. President Monroe's message was the result. That was the promise that America was going to make freedom her concern even outside of her own bounds. It was not a proclamation of suzerainty over the double continent. Monroe's message and the fear of the British fleet kept European armies out of South America. It is the British fleet which has in recent years saved the Monroe Doctrine from challenge. But our popular conception has turned the Monroe Doctrine into an assertion of American self-containedness and indifference to Europe.

Again, in the Spanish-American War we made the cause of freedom outside our bounds our own cause. But having done this, we came to regard it as only an American question. There was nothing which the Spaniards did in Cuba comparable with what the Germans have done in Belgium. The sinking of the *Maine* was no less capable of explanation and excuse than the sinking of the *Lusitania*. There was no tie

of obligation to Cuba more primal than our national signature to The Hague conventions. The Belgian outrages were as much our concern as the Cuban outrages.

Loyalty to an ideal becomes vulgarized and tarnished when it is interpreted in a self-regarding way. It is not freedom that our people have been recently worshipping, but only the brand of it called American freedom, which we have persuaded ourselves is something peculiar and different in kind from other brands. By our newspaper and popular conception of Americanism we have not taught our new-comers the American tradition of Franklin, Monroe, Lincoln, and John Hay. We have taught them to despise other lands, to regard all the peoples of the Old World as alike reactionary and illiberal. We have failed to impart an understanding of the labours for the expansion of liberty which have been undertaken by other peoples. Many of our people have come to believe that since American freedom is something peculiar or esoteric, it has few or no responsibilities in the larger world, and may rightly become self-regarding. In the present war it appears as little more than the opportunity of enlarging material prosperity. The obligation of sacrifice, the maintenance of other than our own rights, seem the wild words of idealists like Putnam and Morton Prince, and the quixotic acts of college boys like the members of the Norton Ambulance. An ideal of freedom that is restricted and purely self-regarding, however eloquent the phrases that clothe it, is an uninspiring ideal. It is not astonishing that many of our citizens, under

the influence of this ideal, have concentrated their attention on making money from the agonies of Europe. It is not astonishing that some element among them have found greater inspiration in the exacting demands of the ideals of other nations. Even the German ideal demands heroic sacrifice. A belief in liberty so self-regarding as ours cozens itself that liberty is served even by accepting the *Lusitania* crime, passing lightly over the Belgian, Lorraine, and Armenian horrors, and submitting to the outrages of *U-53*.

Our recent immigrants are led to believe that in coming to America they are coming to the only real home of liberty, that they have no responsibility for the championing of justice elsewhere, and that they have no concern with the dog-fights of the "effete monarchies" and enemies of liberty left in Europe. Some of these new-comers are ready to adopt that view because they come from lands where tyranny is still in command. Justice and freedom are not made to appear to them one supreme cause wherever they are on trial, worthy of sacrifice; but they appear as achievements of our own, peculiar to us, rewarded with material advantages. With them our historic tradition is not an inheritance. With many of them it is not even an acquisition. The terms of the life which created our tradition were not terms of ease and aloofness. The life was a struggle with pioneer primitive conditions, against forces of nature, hostile bands of Indians, foreign troops, and traitorous men among us. But our recent immigrants have come to us to escape from severe conditions, and their cry is,

in the words of Mary Antin, "What has America given us?" Corruption in politics and business, cosmopolitanism in feeling, luxury, waste, commercialism—all these are increasingly the products of the recent years. Instead of being the struggling arena for a great experiment in democracy, we are in danger of becoming the grab-bag for all that is predatory in human nature. With the change in blood has come a change in national character. We are shaking off the old beliefs, the tradition of sacrifice and discipline and responsibility. We have necessarily failed to impart our own tradition to races of other blood. We have also failed to cherish their own cultural consciousness, and use the excellence in their tradition.

In a smaller matter than the present World War we could comfort ourselves with the failures of other nations. We have high precedent for our abstention from crisis. But this is a moment when France and England are well served by their tradition of freedom and justice, and when our modern Americanism lends itself to an easy distortion. It is a moment when one is proud to be a Frenchman or an Englishman, and when we, for all our prosperity, do not feel very proud to be American. There have been moments in the past when the prides would have been reversed; but this is not one of them, and this is the greatest moment of history.¹

¹ I leave this Chapter as it was written some months ago. Since then the United States has joined herself to the democratic movement and is not longer an absentee at the greatest moment of history. We Americans believe that we shall have the same right to pride in our young men which England has had for three years.

NATIONALITY

In a Frenchman nationality can be set aflame by a touch. He has consciously thought about it. This is because he and his fellows as a nation have been invaded again and again, and as a nation have marched out across Europe. Almost every half-century France has gone forward to the frontier, following or facing some imperialist, to bleed its life away. So a Frenchman kindles at thought of his nation, and that thought is a love for the soil of his *patrie*, for the house where he was born, and for the sunlight and the equality of his beautiful country.

The nationality of a German is a touchy affair. It was only a few years ago that his country was a handful of petty states. Now suddenly a big, powerful, deific engine, the state, has somehow gathered him in with the weak kingdoms, and he is half afraid that the concern will slip away in the night, and leave him again with his dreams and his music, and his empire broken back into small bits. He is still in the pain of a swift process.

The myth of nationality is a profound and necessary truth, as well-grounded as any that governs human nature. It is blind and brutal and righteous. It moves to aggression, or lives peaceably at home. It builds big guns or is pastoral. It is merely the collective expression of human nature in the particular group which circumstance and natural liking have created. It was formed as much by chance as the family—accident, propinquity, commercial considerations. Once formed, it is as natural as the family.

Tagore says that "a new age is imminent, when the ideal of nationalism will be discarded."

But a greater than Tagore has said :

What muddles the moderns about the institution of the family is what muddles them also about Nationalism : it is this double aspect of unity and multiplicity. The principle of one house, one vote, seems to them a crumbling dream. So some of them cannot believe in the corporate mystery of patriotism, though it sets the world on fire before their very eyes. They ask what a nation is ; and can only be shown dissolving views and visions. They see a mob tossing in a market-place ; and then a king sitting alone upon a throne of marble ; and then only innumerable interiors, like cells of a bee-hive, with each man eating his own breakfast and minding his own business ; and then, again, only smoke and sky, and a painted rag upon a pole that drives out upon the driving wind. And all these are one thing.

That nationality does, as a matter of fact, penetrate to deeper sources of instinctive life than other forms of association, such as religion and socialism, is proved by the alignments of the present war, where comrade fights comrade, and Catholic fights Catholic. Zimmermann gives the reason :

Why should our citizenship take precedence of our trade unionism or our business obligations ? Aristotle replies, and in spite of recent critics I think the reply still holds good ; because, but for the existence of the state and the reign of law maintained by it, none of these associations could have been formed or be maintained.

Nationality lies very deeply buried in the subconsciousness of an Englishman. It required a world war to dig it out. Empire talk never existed with the English till it came to the surface with Burke, and received from him a certain shaping and impetus. It dozed again till Disraeli gave it a shove, and it sped along rather briskly in the latter days of Victoria and her Second Jubilee. But it never took strong hold of the general imagination, and there have been few jingo hysterias breaking about the idea of empire. There is of course an inner group of men, highly aware of empire as an affair of the state, and a much wider group of upper-class families whose sons find their career in being governors, magistrates, and minor officials. The Anglo-Indian, for instance, is a rather well-defined type. The young men have to go somewhere. They are well educated, men of honour, and, often enough, with a touch of vitality and adventure. Accordingly many of them trek off to the ends of the earth and enter public service in a crown colony.

A few of them go farther yet, and push the imperial map into the jungle, or plant the flag in a floe. Selous was a true Englishman of this sort. So was Scott. The same breed of men are the sailors, and they have kept his Majesty's navy up to specifications for three hundred years. That is nationality for them, streaking out over polar ice, splashing through swamps, and rolling through the seven seas.

But these men are a tiny fraction of the community,—"men of Biddeford in Devon,"—and their idea of England as a good place to see once a year or once in

three years isn't the nationality of the mass. The nationality of the mass of people lies deep, and in quiet days they hardly know they have it. There is a lot of silent pride in the navy and sea-power, and the "Britannia rule the waves" line probably comes as near to saying something as a popular song usually does. But of a dramatization of the "Island-Queen" there is none in the popular mind. The unconscious pride is enormous. You feel it in the abject loneliness of an Englishman off British soil. I have had very intimate English friends in New York, and there was always a kind of "lost" quality about their personality. They were loyal to the place that gave them bread, but they waited for the return with a long and touching patience. It was my fortune to see them returned, and catch the sigh of relief which the first years of the home-coming called out. Every simple little thing seemed good to these men, and they would point out to me the wide commons of Wimbledon and the small, friendly locomotives of the suburban railway. An Englishman has to suffer before he knows he has a country.

It is suffering which the war has brought, the sense that something precious and intimate is imperilled. The Englishman likes the customs of his country and his own way of carrying on. Very slowly he learned that something was going to intrude and destroy that private wilfulness, that right of the individual man not only to his life, which is a little thing, but to his own peculiar way of living it, which is an important thing. His sense of possession of individual liberty is stronger

than his property sense. Gradually the impression came upon him that there was a hubbub across the Channel, and that the noise was growing louder, and if he didn't do something there would be no end to it. His peace and quiet would be gone, and he would have to live by some one else's rules. As a young Englishwoman said to me : " We don't want strangers to step in and impose on us their manner of life. We don't want to be speeded up."

But still we have failed to reach the basis of the instinctive nationality in an Englishman. I think it lies in the feelings grouped around his locality and his set of friends, the values that are closely familiar.¹ One hears a man from Bernardsville, New Jersey, boast about Niagara Falls and the Rocky Mountains as if they were landscape features of his backyard ; but an Englishman, if he talks at all, will speak of the fields he has hunted across, and the pleasant turn of the hills that are in sight from his windows

I was glad to get it on good authority that I was right about this local patriotism. Captain Basil Williams has made a careful study of the organization of the British army. It is the function of his department to do so. He told me the nature of the appeal by which the millions of men were recruited. It wasn't a vague noisy crusade of advertising posters and general patriotism. It was directly aimed at where the men lived and their feeling of comradeship. The regiments were recruited by counties. (A few regiments came from more than one county.) The unit of recruiting

¹ See Appendix, " Local Patriotism."

is the battalion of one thousand men. In the original standing army, and in the new armies, the basis of the system is the regimental local idea. Devonshire means something to a Chagford man that Columbia County, New York, does not mean to a Hudson man. The Devon man and his people have shot rabbits and ruled the sea from that town in that county for several centuries.

When the war began and large numbers of recruits poured in, the old regimental system was maintained, and every new battalion was affiliated to some old regiment. The first new units were the special reserves, a battalion or two for each regiment, corresponding to the old militia. Then there came battalions of territorials, corresponding to the old volunteers. These territorials would be chosen from the smaller country districts. Then followed the service battalions.

It was difficult at first to obtain equipment and housing. So municipalities organized battalions in their own locality, and handed them over when the army was ready for them. Men said they would like to go with their neighbours and pals. Clerks, sportsmen, football players, men with the same interest in life, chummed together. War was a strange, new job, leaving the individual man lonely, and he wished to face it with friends. These "pal" battalions were still attached to the original regiment.

In both the service and pals battalions Kitchener wished reserves. So each battalion added to its one thousand men five hundred more men, making a reserve battalion. Thus there resulted a reserve

battalion of service battalions, and a reserve battalion of pals battalions.

There is no unit of numbers for a regiment, which can have two thousand men or twenty thousand. One regiment has twenty-six battalions, but the expanding numbers are glued together by the comradeship of long association in the pursuits of peace and by the sense of locality.

The first two armies, K1 and K2, were new service battalions from every regiment of the British army. The old army was thus duplicated by the first two new armies. The third new army, K3, was raised where recruiting was best, largely in the northern and western portions. K4 and K5 were made up of pals battalions. Of course all the other arms of service, medical staff, engineers, artillery, were raised locally, and were represented in these units. And this appeal to local patriotism has been the method of increasing an army of five hundred thousand to five million.

Every regiment has ancient rights and privileges and points of local pride. The Honourable Artillery Company has the right to march through London with fixed bayonets, and the men exercise the right. At the entrance of the city they halt, unbuckle the bayonet, and thrust it into place. This ancestral quality to an army unit gives an *esprit de corps* that the men inherit, and a tradition which touches them to quickened service. It is a survival of the old linked battalion system, which provided that there should be two regular battalions, one normally abroad and

one in England. Overseas service and peace had combined to create the system. It gave an expeditionary force to guard India and South Africa. The old feeling was entirely regimental. Lately there has been an extension of the scale of feeling corresponding to the vast area of the war itself, and the division has become more important than ever before, and develops a self-consciousness of its own. This extension of feeling and organization keeps step with the new organized state, which is replacing the tiny village republics of local self-government.

But local pride is still the tap-root of English nationality. In the early days of the war the German chanted "Deutschland," but the Tommy sang of Leicester Square. Just now "Blighty" is the word. Soon it will be some other phrase, but always it will tell of a little place, a city street or a country lane.

CHAPTER VI

LLOYD GEORGE

I HAVE recently come from a long talk with Mr. Lloyd George. What he convinced me of was that he understands and cares for our country. Frankly, I had doubted this. I was left subdued by his militant interview on "Hands Off," which was harsh and necessary, but which did not bind Downing Street, London, to First Avenue, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. For two years I had wished that an English statesman would lift clear of his business with the enemy and give a word for neutral public opinion. Lloyd George talked and listened for an hour and three quarters on the one subject of the middle West of America. He understands the people. He knows that the public policy of the nation is determined there. He knows that our democratic experiment is being decided by the prairie States. He quoted a remark of Henry Ford, not with amusement or scorn, but as significant. By that he revealed that he knows more about the real America than half the editors of Eastern newspapers.

He understands America with the same sympathy which Lincoln showed for the Lancashire cotton operatives in his famous letter to them. Lloyd George has the same desire for a frank presentation of facts that Henry Ward Beecher revealed in his appeals to

the British public in the industrial cities. What he wishes is that our people should hold the same sympathy with the struggle of the European democracies that the working-classes of England learned to feel for our Civil War struggle, after Lincoln and Beecher had made clear to them that we were fighting for human liberty. Mr. Lloyd George does not regard the war as a dog-fight or as a sporting proposition. He sees it as an incalculable tragedy. With his Celtic imagination he lives in a profound sense of the pity and the waste of it. He has as little hate and bitterness as the soldiers of England and France with whom I have lived at the front.

He has a habit of informal breakfast at a sunny little flat about ten minutes away from Downing Street. Here two or three of his friends meet him. He comes in well rested, and decides points of policy and indulges in reminiscence, amusing and poetic. And all his talk has a lightness of touch. The guests of this morning were Mr. Davies, the war secretary; Seeborn Rowntree, the manufacturer and social worker; and H. N. Spalding. Mr. Rowntree and Mr. Spalding were at that time conducting the department of welfare work in the ministry of munitions.

"Are you giving them welfare?" Mr. Lloyd George asked Mr. Rowntree. "Here," he said, turning to me, "is the greatest attempt ever made by a Government to surround the lives of the workers with safeguards for their safety and health and well-being."

"What Americans and English need more than any one thing else is a smoking-room acquaintance,

where they exchange their views informally and get to know the man."

It is this smoking-room intimacy that Mr. Lloyd George gives to all whom he meets. He is not afraid of being himself. He is as daring in his comments on men and things as Mr. Roosevelt, as charming as the late William James. He is used to being loved. The lines about the eyes reveal a man who works his purpose by geniality in a flow of fun and charm and sympathy. The political battles of twenty years have left less impression on his spirit than the victories he has won as peace-maker and harmonizer. He referred to two editors who have recently been attacking him. He said :

"I don't mind their criticizing me. I can take blows and I can give them. But they are making it hard for us to get together after the war. We don't want differences when we come to the work of reconstruction."

He ends a talk by being more completely the master of your thought than you are yourself. He states it clearly and beautifully, and reduces it to a programme of action.

"To understand your people or any people," he said, "it is necessary for one to pass inside the temple."

He practises what Sainte-Beuve preached, that to know a religion you must be a worshipper inside the church. So week by week Sainte-Beuve became a mystic and a pagan and an epicurean as he served up the soul of the writer whom he was interpreting. This is the high gift which Lloyd George possesses. He can

step up to the very altar of a man's most secret belief. This is the gift which has made him the one Briton who is perfectly understood in France. He spoke only a couple of sentences inside the citadel of Verdun, but they revealed to France that he knew what that symbol meant to them. For in his best moments he becomes something other than the grim fighter and the adroit politician who uses all the tricks of the game. Suddenly for his hearers, and unexpectedly to himself, he lifts by an exquisite imagination to the place of insight, and becomes the voice of obscure people, and understands men he has never met. If he talks with a slangy person, he discharges himself in vivid, staccato phrases. The nature and direction of his rebound are determined by the substance that he encounters. He was born to react. He has a mind that kindles, and a style that rises very lightly and gracefully into poetic beauty. There has been no other such passage of prose produced by the war as that paragraph of his on "little nations" at the beginning of the fight.

A breezy young officer of the flying service once told me the shameful secret of Lloyd George. It was that the war minister went around obtaining advice from experts, that he really didn't know all about it by himself.

Earlier in the war a prominent banker told me that the then Chancellor of the Exchequer was not the financial authority which the multitude thought him, that he held consultations with leading bankers, that, in fact, the Chancellor had consulted with his own firm

Lloyd George is the leader of a democracy because he chums with experts, and swings to the currents of the collective will. His personality contains the virtues and perils of the democracy itself. For it, too, may some day establish a bureaucracy of experts that could be the tightest little oligarchy of history, and it, too, may yet swing to tides that are ebbing. It is not often that one sees a community incarnating itself in a single man. But the British democracy has its incarnation in Lloyd George, responsive to subconscious forces, and turning to specialists for aid in crises.

He faces the most difficult years of his life, and he knows it. A man of his temperament can help to conduct a great war. All that was needed was the inspirational quality to rouse his people, the energy to set them at work, the creative imagination to see the war in its extent, its duration, its requirements. None of these tests has over-taxed his powers, for they all lay inside the area of his competence. But when peace comes, there is no longer one straight road to a clear goal. All the forces of reaction will coalesce. All the bad counsellors will make a cloud of witness about him. All the paths to immediate power will lie in "playing safe." If he remains true to himself, he will be cursed with a vehemence which will make his early years seem a sweet season of delight. There will be no easy victories. All will be turmoil and bitterness, for we are at the beginning of the greatest fight of the ages—the fight of the democracies inside themselves. We had our little Lloyd George in America, a well known former district-attorney

of New York. He had the same transcendent charm. But the wrong crowd got him, not by illicit means. They won him on his social side, the quality in the man that likes people and wishes to be liked. And he lost his sense of direction. He forgot the long, hard fight he was making to give the people better government.

The coming years of Lloyd George will be determined by the kind of persons who surround him, and touch that sensitive, quivering mind to action.¹ If he holds fast to his good Welsh friends and to men like Dr. Clifford, the sturdy old radical warrior of nonconformity, he will go simply all his days, and continue to express the living element of his people. But if he leans toward the men of power, and listens to those voices who will tell him of the kingdoms of this world, and who will promise him the leadership of a reactionary militaristic Tory party, he will lose his own soul. For the genius of the man is his human sympathy. He was meant to be a pathfinder for feet too tired to win their own way into the open. He was meant to think himself inside the mind of other men and other races.

The future may rest with him as with no other single man among the Western peoples. He will soon face a world no longer sharply defined into enemies, allies, and neutrals, but a world where unguessed tendencies are forming, and new forces of emancipation are fighting for recognition.

¹ A. G. Gardiner brought out this point in a brilliant study, several years ago.

CHAPTER VII

A LAST WORD

I have sought in this book to show the passing of England,—Little England, Old England,—the crumbling of its caste system, and the emergence of the England of John Ball from inarticulateness into power. And a yet greater thing has come—the advent of the new British commonwealth.¹ Democratic control is being established. Labour is taking over the management of society. The women have gone out to win their world, and they face a bitter struggle. The book further records the rebirth of nationality in Ireland. It shows the machinery of joint boards, workshop councils, imperial conference and franchise extension, by which the transformation will be worked. It tells of the terms of the new status for the masses: minimum wage, limitation of hours, choice of work, control inside the industry. Every change was long prepared for, and built out of age-old materials, and every change is made by compromise. But the change carries a long way, because the momentum is continuous and along a straight line. After all, there is nothing so revolutionary as a great tradition, and the most daring reconstructors are often men of Tory blood.

¹ See Appendix, "The British Commonwealth."

So I have tried to show that this change^s is not a hasty chance revolution, but the natural growth of the English tradition. The little vessel that contained that tradition has been broken, but the germinal principle has been scattered rather widely around the world. I have tried to give the book coherence, because the theme is the principle of democratic control. It is this principle which is shattering the caste system, reconstructing industry, emancipating women, stirring Ireland, seething through the colonies, and transforming the far-flung empire into the British commonwealth.

What kind of country are the people making of England? They are going to give larger returns to productive labour and skilled management, and diminishing returns to absentee capital—shareholders, speculators, and dummy directors. The old profiteering will be ended. The first charge against production will be a living wage for the workers and the reward of ability for the management. Within five years I believe that we shall see England an organized State under democratic control—with an increasing fraction of the volume of production conducted under co-operation and national and municipal ownership. The remaining portion of the volume of production will be conducted under private enterprise, but with democratic control in two ways: (1) by Government oversight; (2) by trade-union workers' control, through workshop councils, joint district boards, and national trade boards. The relationship of these trade parliaments to Parliament has not yet been clarified.

The British people have been so busy revolutionizing their world by action that they haven't time to see that already they have constructed a new society. But the change is apparent to one who has visited the island during the last seventeen years. The social organism is spotted with rudiments, like the human body, and the old-timers still brood deeply on these ancient remains, as if in them they found the deeper transcendental sense of being. The spurs of officers, the wigs of barristers, the intoning of archdeacons, the *laissez-faire* of profiteers, the pheasants of dukes are already historic rather than contemporary. Present-day England is becoming an industrial democracy.

I think I have made plain that the programme of reconstruction is far from victorious attainment. The woman's movement bristles with unanswered questions. Labour has failed to develop its experts and leaders, and when it does, there remains the intricate problem of democratic control, where a set of experts sit at the inner wheels. Freedom is a hard taskmaster. And deeper yet is the problem of what excellence shall be made of the life that is free.

I am painfully aware of failure in giving my account. I have had to use too brief observation and only five months of writing on what ought to be the work of a lifetime. The result is unavoidably a hasty journalistic résumé. It was my wish to keep the record free from praise or blame, and to let it tell of principles and tendencies in a community of great variety. But to my own knowledge I have often failed to capture what is characteristic. There is something perdurable and

continuing about British character. No outer violence can shake the citadel of the individual soul. The Briton is not only willing to die in what is plainly a great matter, such as the freeing of Belgium, he is willing to be laughed at and to be put into prison for his private pet belief. He interrupts public meetings and deposes leaders if the speaker or the representative outpaces the plain man's view of what is common sense. There is no British type. There are many types, and then, in between the composite, a multitude of "infinitely repellent particles." That individualism, which was in the race in Chaucer's time, and again found record in Ben Jonson's men of humour, has never died, and no "collective will" or state control will ever rob the British democracy of the salt and tang of its variety, the loud protest of its protestants and the dissidence of its dissent. So I have rendered official stupidities with Ireland and the Russian refugees. But the final truth doesn't rest there. I remember a talk I had with the mayor of the largest sea-coast resort, and how he told me of returning a German lad to his home-country after the war broke out. There is a kindliness in the race. Many times I have been irritated by something pig-headed and unconsciously arrogant in the people, the quality which Havelock Ellis describes when he says, "It is the temper of a vigorous, independent, opinionated, free-spoken, yet sometimes suspicious people among whom every individual feels in himself the impulse to rule." It springs from the tradition of a governing class, and I once heard one of the most famous men in Europe

tell how a certain English nobleman always made him feel: "You belong to a race which we once ruled. Really, we ought to be ruling you now." Then there comes to me the intimate talk I recently had with a librarian.

"For five generations my family has been in the public service," he said, "and I could not be happy elsewhere. I receive five hundred pounds a year. Recently, a business house offered me nine hundred pounds, with the promise of promotion. But I could not be happy in other work. We do not want money primarily, so long as there is security, and enough for a decent living, and a pension, perhaps, at the end of it all. What can money offer compared with public service?"

That is the secret of what is best in English life: the finest men in public service, a level of conduct, clean administration and government. The democracy must never lower that standard.

For the opportunity of meeting the moving spirits of the reconstruction, the leaders of labour, welfare work, the woman's movement, Cabinet ministers, writers, officials, I owe grateful thanks to H. N. Spalding, Seeborn Rowntree, and Geoffrey Butler. They were active in effecting new connections, unaware that they themselves were among the most valuable of the group whom I met. And from the many talks I have seemed to verify what I have long believed—that the British people are a great democratic force in the world. I believe that in accomplished reform they are a generation ahead of the United States, and that they

see more clearly than we the immense responsibilities which the principle of democratic control creates.

I am convinced that our own future is bound up with that of England, that together with England and France we can face the world with security, and gradually and painfully make the democratic principle prevail. I am convinced that, divided, both England and America will be fatally weakened, and that the future will be poorer because of the split. What is needed is interpretation of each country to the other, leading to intellectual understanding, and finally to goodwill. For that common understanding I consider it of importance that England shall conquer a certain arrogance, a certain unwillingness to accept us as grown-up, and that she shall clear the Irish situation. For that common understanding I consider it of equal importance that America should cease her policy of aloofness, and overcome the self-complacency which believes that our country alone is the land of freedom and justice and the champion of democracy. Then, together, in humility, we can achieve greatness, and extend the principle of democratic control.

APPENDIX

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT

In an outline of the new imperial commonwealth to which Lord Milner has given his approval the functions of an imperial parliament are suggested :

The first of these is the support and maintenance of the navy and naval establishments and fortifications throughout the empire. The second is the control of the expeditionary army and the maintenance of a skeleton military establishment for the empire by which the national-service militias that must certainly follow this war could be gunned, mobilized, and directed in an imperial crisis. The third is the imperial control of the food-supply and of the imperial resources of raw material. The fourth is imperial transit, posts, money, standards, ports and seaways. The fifth is the common imperial trade policy. The sixth is the supreme direction of education, not with any power of prohibition, but with unlimited powers of endowment, to maintain the common language and the supply of higher education universally throughout the empire. The seventh is the maintenance of the supreme court of the empire. The eighth is the control of foreign policy and the continuation of the imperial trusteeship over the non-represented dependencies.

WORKERS' EDUCATION

The modern British radical is a man in command of the figures in his industry. His wage demand is not a blank check drawn against the full productive power of industry. It is an exact statement of the amount of cash which the employer has just put into his own pocket. This type of worker is perfectly willing to hold a conference on the basis of a show-down of facts. This mental clarity is not true of the mass of labour, but it is true of the advanced groups. Education has been at work and has given them an intellectual basis for their desires. Those desires, expressed in the form of demands,

are less noisy and more deadly than the old class-conscious battle-cries. There is an atmosphere of smokeless powder to the syndicalist movement in the hands of the miners, transport workers, railwaymen, and engineers.

An admirable study of this intellectual ferment in the South Wales coal-fields has recently been made by a special correspondent of "The Times." He shows how the miners, when they tackle Lord Rhondda and the other barons of the collieries, figure out costs from statistics, and challenge their management to a joint audit. In describing the careful preparation which these men have received, he says :

What is it that makes South Wales the industrial storm-centre of Great Britain and why is it a fruitful ground for food agitation and peace propaganda? The answer is simple. Subject a fiery and educated people to a soulless, dehumanized, commercial machine for the extraction of gold out of labour, and you will inevitably breed a seething discontent which must somewhere find its outlet.

Their fieriness is sufficiently known, but the Celtic temperament alone does not explain their violence of action. To it is added a degree of education which would astonish some of their absentee employers. There are scores of men working in the Welsh pits who could pass an examination in Ibsen or Shaw or Swinburne, or could hold their own in an argument on economics or politics with the average member of Parliament. They owe their training, not to the state or to the municipalities, but to the educational facilities provided by the Independent Labour Party and other organizations. In the current number of the "Merthyr Pioneer," which may be regarded as the organ of the Independent Labour Party movement in South Wales, appears a column and a half article, one of a series, on industrial history, dealing with the earliest written records of British history from the point of view of the worker, and at the end of the article is a reference to the works which bear on the subject. For years past free evening classes in economics, industrial history, and similar subjects have been held in I.L.P. branch-rooms in the various mining centres, and many of the younger members have taken full advantage of them.

There is another educational movement which has its centre in Rhondda, and which is carried on mainly by past students of the Central Labour College. This institution, it may be remembered, was established as the result of dissatisfaction with the curriculum of Ruskin College, Oxford. From Oxford it was transferred to Earl's Court, London, and thence it has spread the doctrine of class

war far and wide. Recently it came under the joint control of the South Wales Miners' Federation and the National Union of Railwaymen, and special efforts are now being made to extend its work throughout this district, chiefly by lectures in the workmen's institutes and co-operative societies' rooms.

A third educational agency is an organization called the Plebs League, which aims at the education of the workers by means of classes in sociology, industrial history, Marxian economics, and so on. Not only do hundreds of young miners absorb this teaching, but many of them are sent by their lodges to the Central Labour College, London, and come back to preach what they have learned—mainly as a gospel of open hostility to the employers and constant agitation for the complete extraction of their profits.

The Central Labour College, described above, is an institution in the west of London, one of the promoters of which has been Mrs. Bridges Adams. Mrs. Adams is an international Socialist. She and others founded Bebel House in London, which was to be one of the headquarters of the international socialist movement. Then came the war, and Bebel House was used by the refugee Russians as a headquarters. The police raided it during one of their official campaigns against Russian political refugees. Mrs. Adams has waged a continuous fight against the English official betrayal of the right of asylum. I give a full account of the matter in the chapter entitled "The Right of Asylum." The point is of interest here as showing how various expressions of radicalism interlock. The woman who has helped the miners of South Wales to fashion the weapons of their powerful syndicalist movement is the person who has defended an ancient English liberty.

Mrs. Adams believes that little trust can be put in labour leaders. They grow official, tame, and compromising, and lose responsiveness to the aspirations of the mass of the people. She believes that only by diffused intelligence will the labour movement prosper, and not through individual men becoming under-secretaries, pension ministers, and ministers of labour. And this distrust of labour leaders she extends to university movements for "the education of the workers." She fears that they will make the social movement "upper class," and

the education itself a desiccated, carefully edited, non-explosive brand. So Mrs. Adams and others have conducted the Central Labour College as an institution growing out of the people themselves rather than something given them from above. Step by step with the growth of her institution and other democratic agencies of education the Welsh miners have raised their standard of living and strengthened their position in the community, till to-day they are a force so formidable that the Government capitulated on their latest threat to strike, and enforced a wage increase. They are probably the most radical labour group in Great Britain.

I am simply trying to tell of social movements as they operate, not to pass judgment on their comparative merit. The claims of the Central Labour College will be weighed by the careful investigator with those of the Workers' Educational Association, which an increasing number of workers regard as the most promising educational movement ever carried on by the mass-people and the intellectuals in co-operation. The W.E.A. has university-led tutorial classes in history, literature, and economics, about twelve thousand members, and a realized programme of educating the workers inside their class so that they can use their powers to lift all their fellow-workers with themselves.

The impulse in the working class educational movement was once expressed by Philip Snowden thus :—

“I would rather have better education given to the masses of the working classes than the best for a few, ‘O God, make no more giants; elevate the race.’”

At an Oxford Conference ten years ago it was expressed by J. M. Mactavish, a dockyard worker at Portsmouth, thus :—

“I am not here as a suppliant for my class. I decline to sit at the rich man's gate praying for crumbs. I claim for my class all the best of all that Oxford has to give. I claim it as a right—wrongfully withheld—wrong not only to us but to Oxford. What is the true function of a University? Is it to train the nation's best men, or to sell its gifts to the rich? Instead of recruiting her students from the widest possible area, she has restricted her area

of selection to the fortunate few. They come to her not for intellectual training, but for veneering. Not only are workpeople deprived of the right to access to that which belongs to no class or caste, the accumulated knowledge and experience of the race, but Oxford herself misses her true mission, while the nation and the race lose the services of its best men. I emphasize the point because I wish it to be remembered that workpeople could do far more for Oxford, than Oxford can do for the workpeople. For, remember, democracy will realize itself, with or without the assistance of Oxford; but if Oxford continues to stand apart from the workpeople, then she will ultimately be remembered, not for what she is but for what she has been.

"We want from Oxford a new science of national and international economics—a science that will teach us the true relationship between production and consumption; that will teach us the true economic relationship in which men ought to stand to men, and men to women—a science based, not on the acquisitiveness of the individual, but on social utility. Even as much do we want from her a new interpretation of history—not one that will continuously remind us that we are on the edge of the abyss, but one that will inspire us; not the short and simple annals of the poor, but the history of the people."

Early in the present year, J. Fothergill, a working man member of the Workers' Educational Association, replied as follows to an appeal for religious instruction:—

"In my own little way I seem to distinguish between education and training. Training seems to me to be a sort of drilling or compelling of the individual to do a certain thing more or less perfectly after a certain amount of repetition. But education seems to me to be rather more than this, it is a development of the faculties which will enable me to sift facts and weigh evidence, but not to arrive at any particular conclusion. Or, in other words, in a homely way I might try to make it more clear by explaining that education does not show me the road through life so much as it enables me to find a way for myself. Therefore, I submit that Mr. Temple is wrong in postulating that schemes of education ought to be religious or otherwise, although he might be justified in asserting that a training college should be so. I am extremely anxious that I should not be considered in any way disrespectful, but I desire to take exception to the way that Mr. Temple uses such terms as Beauty, Goodness, and Truth. He seems to assume that these terms are objective and distinct when in truth they are purely relative. Beauty varies considerably amongst us, even at times with the same individual. A tiger might be admired in a cage, but how ugly he would be to a

victim. Goodness also is certainly relative. How good it is to kill our enemies, and it is a sad reflection that states could not exist without such apparently paradoxical conceptions. And what is truth? How difficult to answer, although so easy to question. Mr. Temple complains that the Englishman does not care for truth, and further complains that it is only what he thinks is true, irrespective of whether it is in accordance with 'the truth' or not. Again, the question looms up, 'What is truth?' It is very easy to claim to have the truth, and that other people have it not, but it is another matter to prove or disprove, as the case might be. Is it not a fact that all our truth is what we think is true, and that Mr. Temple is really in the same boat as the Englishman. Mr. Temple dreams and hopes that all Christians might be united. Let us hope that no such agreement will ever be arrived at, because, in my opinion, education would become a thing of the past. Humanity would then be surrounded by the dread portals of authority. The free play of knowledge would cease, and science could not hope to improve upon a scheme of things which catered for humanity for eternity. From my lowly station I would admonish the Rev. Mr. Temple to keep his ideas on this matter for the pulpit, where they rightly belong. When he takes his part in the open life, let him use his great powers in assisting the working classes to develop themselves in order to choose intelligently among the maze of theories in the world. I would further submit that the theory of religion is not sufficiently capable of proof to justify its being included in any curriculum. It is rather a personal matter, and perhaps the central dogma of religion—that a good kind Father overrules all—will be best rebutted by a contemplation of the common facts of life: the present carnage caused by the war, which would surely be stayed by any well meaning being possessing the power, and a contemplation of life as we experience it from day to day, how life lives upon life, and as it is tersely put by Herbert Spencer, 'that the Carnivore might live the Herbivore must die.' "

The desire of the worker to be left free to think for himself through democratic education has been commented on in a recent Government enquiry.

The Commission of Enquiry into Industrial Unrest, reporting for Wales, states :—

" The sense of antagonism between Capital and Labour has been considerably deepened during recent years by the propaganda of a small but earnest group of men whose teachings are rapidly permeating the entire trade union movement. Advanced causes feed on discontent, and the indisposition of employers to concede

the claims of the workers to a higher standard of life has provided fuel for the propaganda of the Independent Labour Party and, more recently, of the enthusiasts of the Central Labour College movement. The influence of the "advanced" men is growing very rapidly, and there is ground for belief that under their leadership attempts of a drastic character will be made by the working classes as a whole to secure direct control by themselves of their particular industries.

"The leading spirits in the trade unions have of late years been devoting themselves to an active if restricted form of educational propaganda. The working-man, it is held, must organize his own education, train his own teachers, and work steadily for reform within his own union. Thus, to-day, the South Wales Miners' Federation and the National Union of Railwaymen have jointly assumed financial responsibility for a working-man's college (the Central Labour College) where the workers may be taught the social sciences free from the bias and prejudice of the upper-class conception of history and economics. In March, 1917, the College conducted 41 classes, of which 19 were in South Wales, 8 being in the Rhondda. The number of students at that time in South Wales would not be less than 500. Since March, 1917, however, the number of the classes has largely increased, and steps have been taken to organize classes in almost every district of the South Wales Federation. The subjects taken are almost invariably confined to Economics, Industrial History, and the Modern Working-class Movement."

The new Minister of Education has offered the country certain proposals which, if enacted, will lay the foundation for democratic education. He wishes :—

1. Better administrative organization for education.
2. Elementary schooling with no exceptions up to the age of 14.
3. Part-time day continuation schools.
4. Development of the higher forms of elementary education.
5. Improvement of the physical condition of children under instruction.
6. Consolidation of the elementary school grants.
7. A survey of the educational field.
8. Closer relationship between private educational institutions and the national educational system.

LAND

The Duke of Sutherland has decided to sell his Shropshire seat, Lilleshall, an estate of 7,500 acres.

In a letter to the tenants the Duke writes :

I have hoped against hope that I might not be forced to part with what remains of the Lilleshall Estate, but the burden of taxation, which I think is heaviest on a landlord whose patrimony consists mainly of large landed properties, and particularly the very heavy death duties consequent on the death of my father, have compelled me to take this step. The prospect of a severance from the property and old association, which have become so dear to me, is a bitter one.

The war has delayed much good reform which was briskly on its way. A long campaign to bring man and land together was about to end in remedial legislation. Now these reforms have been postponed till peace comes. But legislation will be introduced after the close of the war to bring labour back to the land, and to bring the land back from grass. The famous "New Domesday," inquiry showed that slightly more than 2,000 persons owned half the agricultural land of the country.

While that investigation was being made the agricultural labourers were struggling to combine for higher wages, and their union was shortly afterwards crushed by farmers, clergy, and landowners. As yet little has been done to efface the deep impress made alike upon the land system and the workers on the land by two hundred years of rule by the British landed aristocracy.

Ninety per cent. of the agricultural land of England and Wales is worked by tenants and not by owners. The net agricultural output of England and Wales is about \$650,000,000 a year. The land is under-cultivated.

The Government appointed the Land Inquiry Committee to find out why. Their report was brought in only a few months before the war. The changes they advocate were thus postponed.

The Committee found that one reason of under-cultivation is the insecurity of tenure of the farmer. The growing frequency of sales of agricultural estates, with notices to quit, or a higher rent, has led to this insecurity of the small holder. This insecurity of tenure prevents the tenant from making improvements. He deserves compensation for increased

fertility due to continuous good farming. Instead, he often is shackled with a higher rent for his own improvements, and under the present system of taxation these improvements are rated and therefore penalised.

Another reason is labour. Bad farming and low wages together have driven many of the best men to the towns. Those who remain as labourers are underpaid.

A large amount of land is withheld from its best use for the purpose of sport, and a considerable amount more is under-cultivated and in some cases under-rented owing to game preservation. This land, instead of providing food for the people, provides sport and delicacies for the few. Between 1881 and 1901 the number of game-keepers increased from 12,633 to 16,677, while during the same period there was a large decline in the rural population. There are instances of agricultural land, formerly rated at 20 shillings or more an acre, turned into plantation, and then rated at one shilling an acre, including the sporting right. In such cases the law has put a premium upon misusing the land. Reforms are necessary in taxation and rating of this land used for sport.

Other reasons for under-cultivation follow: Land lies waste. The farmer cannot obtain adequate capital nor facile credit. Better transit by light railways, waterways, etc., is needed. Co-operation is still imperfectly practised. Scientific education is required. Much of the land must be split into small holdings. Too much land is in pasture instead of tillage. Even in dairy farming, "more cows could be maintained, and, if they are properly managed, more profit obtained, on an arable farm than on a grass farm." The "Nation," has reduced the total area in England and Wales under crops and grass to the scale of 48 acres, and, according to the latest agricultural returns, shown its division. Twenty-nine acres are in permanent grass, five acres clover and rotation grasses, 14 acres arable.

The Government Committee came to this revolutionary conclusion:

The ownership of land is of the nature of a monopoly, and the legal power which a landowner has over his tenant, tempered though it be in many cases by goodwill and kindly personal relationship, is detrimental to the best national interests. . . . England has become, more than any other European nation, a country of farms of over 50 acres as opposed to Small Holdings. Nearly 7,000,000 acres are in the hands of large farmers who hold more than 300 acres, while only 4,000,000 are in holdings between 5 and 50, and only 285,000 acres are in holdings between 1 and 5 acres.

Small holdings are one of the remedies. English experience shows conclusively, according to these Government investigators, that small holders would rather rent than purchase. Their report is unfavourable to state-aided purchase. They found that the desire to purchase is not for any abstract joy of ownership, but almost universally for the factor of obtaining security of tenure. An inquiry was made among farmers. Eighty per cent. stated that they wished security of tenure, only $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. said that their real object was the satisfaction of ownership. So the remedy proposed is to create security of tenure, rather than peasant proprietorship. It should be said that there is a wide difference of public opinion on this point of small rented holding versus peasant proprietorship. The Committee sees that one of the fundamentals in the matter is that the man with only a small capital needs a good return on his money. Land as an investment pays back only about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This is too small a return for the farmer. He will do better to rent his holding, and invest his money in seed, fertilizer, and machinery. Land is more costly than its agricultural value warrants because there is a demand for it for social and sporting purposes.

The Committee urges that Land Courts shall be established in England and Wales with powers to grant security of tenure subject to good farming, to fix fair rents, to decide questions of compensations, and to fix the price payable upon compulsory acquisition of land by public bodies. The existence of this Land Court will hasten the acquisition of land by public bodies for small holdings

Ordinary agricultural labourers in England make an average

around \$4.20 a week. There is little opposition to the proposal that a legal minimum wage shall be established for them by a wage tribunal. This wage must be such as will enable the labourer to live in a state of physical efficiency and to pay a commercial rent for his cottage. The Government minimum wage of 25 shillings is a step but not a solution.

His bad condition is partly due to bad housing. The number of cottages for the working class in the rural districts of England and Wales is about 1,200,000. One hundred and twenty thousand new cottages are needed, especially cottages with three bedrooms. By "bad housing in rural districts" thousands of children and adults are dying or being permanently injured in health every year. . . . It should be made a definite statutory duty of every Rural District Council to provide a cottage for every person permanently employed in a rural district."

By thus increasing the independence of the labourer, he will be in a position to take advantage of the existent Small Holdings and Allotments Act. This, combined with better machinery, through Parish Councils and Government officials, will secure the use of a small piece of land for every dweller in the countryside. In that way the ladder is built by which he rises from a landless underpaid wage-slave to a free householder with access to the land.

It is further advocated that the Crown Land Commissioners purchase large arrears of land in different parts of the country for the purpose of extending their policy of creating small holdings.

Who is to pay for the minimum wage of labour and the reduced rent of small holdings? The landlord, not the farmer. The legislation for a minimum wage is to provide that the farmer who pays it and who is able to prove that the rise in wages has put upon him an increased burden shall have the right to apply to the Land Court for a re-adjustment of his rent. And that rent, in any case, is to be a fair rent and not a competitive rent.

"A competitive rent is the sum which one farmer, competing

with other farmers, will pay for land rather than go without it. A fair rent is the surplus which in a normal season will remain over from the produce of the land if worked by a farmer of average ability, after providing for all necessary outgoings, including a fair wage to the labourer, and after allowing to the farmer a reasonable remuneration."

In these ways, bad housing, over-crowding, malnutrition, tuberculosis will be done away with in the life of the labourer, and the land itself freed for community service. In the reform two points of view will be kept in mind—"The social point of view, which looks on the health and housing of the labourer and the poorer villager; the economic point of view, which treats agriculture as an industry that must be run at a profit."

It is historically just that the landowner shall stand a portion of the burden of reform. Dr. Gilbert Slater has outlined the process by which the self-respecting English peasantry were forced off the land. By rack rents (an economic rent based on rising values, as distinguished from the customary rent), by a system of fines, the landlords appropriated to themselves the whole of the new profits of changed conditions through world commerce. The tenants resigned their holdings into the hands of the landlord. The arable land was turned into sheep farms, evictions were widely made, and a thriving village would be replaced by "ruined cottages, and rough grass nibbled by flocks, running, we are told, in some cases to as many as 24,000 sheep, tended by a few shepherds and their dogs. This was the great enclosure movement of the sixteenth century."

Enclosure was not the turning of waste lands into cultivated fields, but the conversion of arable fields into desolate sheep walks.

"Early in the eighteenth century began the series of private acts of enclosure, of which 4,000 in all, covering 7,000,000 acres, were passed before the General Enclosure Act of 1845. During the same period it is probable that about the same area was enclosed without application to Parliament. . . .

In a proportion of cases, the principal landowner effected enclosure by first of all making himself the sole proprietor."

Enclosure meant throwing open fields together and building a hedge around the total. In this way the small owners were got rid of. "The majority of the small tenant-farmers had to choose between emigrating elsewhere or becoming landless labourers. . . . Henceforward there was a gulf between the labourer and the farmer."

INDUSTRY AND THE STATE

A Royal Charter has been granted to the official members of the Committee of the Privy Council for Scientific and Industrial Research under the title of "The Imperial Trust for the Encouragement of Scientific and Industrial Research." Its expenditure will be employed in research done in conjunction with trade associations, using the results for the benefit of the trade in general. The Government has already given their assistance in the manufacture of dye stuffs. Standing committees have been formed in Engineering, Mining and Metallurgy. This whole new relationship of the State to industry will be in part dependent for its success on continuation schools.

MACHINERY

The first attempt to treat comprehensively the new machinery and buildings created by war needs has been made by the annual "Engineering Supplement" of "The Times." What is to be done with this new plant? has been the question asked by many, and answered by none. Mr. Hodge, the Minister of Labour, says: "I don't care whether it is by tariffs, by prohibition, by bounty, or any other method, the plant in our country must be utilized." Private plants, numbering four thousand seven hundred, have greatly expanded. There are over ninety-five new national factories. The "Engineering Supplement" quotes one firm as prophesying "a reduction in the proportion of three machines to one

available for the future use." A firm of marine engineers says that sixty per cent. of the new machines will have to be scrapped, because the tools are over-driven and worn out. But even these estimates leave from twenty-five to forty per cent. of the new machinery available, and this is an enormous expansion in productive capacity. Thus in one year armament firms introduced twenty-five hundred new machine tools. The large majority of engineering firms agree that these works, with their new machinery, will be used for the intensive manufacture of standardized articles. The assembling of parts at these central plants has established manufacturing practice in the use of gauges, and created the conditions for standard and interchangeable manufacture. As one firm writes :

" In small tools—twist drills and milling cutters—we believe that by standardization and judicious publicity we may fill a large portion of the business held formerly by Germany and the United States."

One hundred thousand gauges have been made in the technical institutes in the last eighteen months. The gauge standardizes the engineering industry, and enables it to produce on a vast scale a great variety of manufactured articles. Standardization is essential to low-cost manufacture and large output, and the establishment of standard is dependent on the accuracy of gauges, defining specified dimensions of absolute magnitude, and limiting permissible variation.

A professional engineer writes :

Our locomotives differ only in relatively small details, excepting valve-gears. The main sizes of cylinders, piston-rods, connecting-rods, side-rods, crank axles differ only very slightly in the same class of engines. . . . Hundreds of various forms of 12 in. by 20 in. horizontal engines exist, differing only in a very small degree in the actual details that count in actual wear and tear and the life of the engine. Could not all these details be agreed and standardized? If a few more usual types of engines—marine, steam-rollers, etc.—were standardized, quite a number of our present munition factories could be engaged in manufacturing connecting-rods and side-rods only, others the cylinders and pistons, others the valve-gears,

etc.; and in busy areas, without much carting, whole engines could thus be assembled in special shops dealing with special engines, to the great gain of our home, colonial, and foreign customers. A similar course is demanded very specially for electrical machinery, fittings, and telephones.

The munition factories could further be used to great advantage in fostering and nursing the British production of agricultural machinery, at present sadly behindhand, and manufacturing it as standard repetition work. They would also be suitable for making improved machine tools, as well as mining tools, such as rock-drills, etc.; and standard ships would be greatly improved if fitted not only with the standard engines already mentioned, but also standard winches, pumps, steering-gear, refrigerating-apparatus, etc.

The output in the engineering trade can be increased at least twenty-five per cent., even with the machinery that existed before the war, and with the new machinery that percentage will go considerably higher.

EMPIRE RESOURCES

I have to limit myself to a sentence for programmes of reconstruction, each of which would require a volume for adequate summary. The linking up of the resources of the empire is a vast scheme, with a committee already at work upon it. The Empire Resources Development Committee has been formed to open up new sources of revenue by developing the empire through state aid to private enterprise:—selected resources, assets ripe for development. Land, palm-oil products, fisheries are among its immediate agenda. Land will be sold or leased, and it will also be used as an instrument of production, for stock-raising, and the establishment of plantations. Water-supplies, railways, harbours, grain-elevators, and factories are all envisaged in the scheme. The development board is to be constituted of captains of industry. Among the men backing the plan are Rudyard Kipling, Sir Horace Plunkett, Dunraven, Grey, Selborne, Desborough, and Sir Starr Jameson.

It is impossible for the empire to pay off its enormous war debt under the existing system of taxation. Democratic finance has to strike out new ideas, and this is one

of them: to make use of the "finest undeveloped estate which has ever been known in the history of the world," and to develop these latent resources of the empire by a centralized semi-state board, making use of the services of experts. This organization will thus be a commercial pioneer, supplying capital and knowledge, control and organization, to the scattered pockets and pools and paying veins of the ungarnered wealth of a quarter of the earth.

Alfred Bigland, who has had forty years of experience in the importation of raw materials, says of the plan:

Some time ago the Minister of Munitions asked me to take charge of all oils that contained glycerine and he pointed out the Government controlled the whole of the whale fishing in the Antarctic Ocean. By giving licences to the men to fish in these waters on condition that the oil was retained for this country we have received during the war 660,000 barrels of this oil. It was a revelation that we had such a supply, and while the Germans were paying, for little lots, £300 a ton for such oil, we are buying it for the Government at £38 a ton.

In the Pacific Ocean, bordering on British Columbia; in the mouth of the St. Lawrence; and the waters around Newfoundland and Labrador, apart from our own home waters—under an Empire monopoly (though we must have the consent of the dominions in this matter), we could become the purveyors of fish in all forms, almost to the whole world. Already Newfoundland was sending on an average 300,000 tons of cod to the Mediterranean and neutral countries. There was practically no limit to the quantity, and the Grand Trunk Pacific had already offered refrigerating plant to bring fish from Prince Rupert Island to Liverpool at a penny a ton, which would be reduced to three farthings or a halfpenny on big Government contracts being entered into. This development could take place immediately. The necessary shipbuilding and equipment must take time, but after the war—if the Government allowed it—the whole of the vessels now used in the North Sea for mine sweeping and other purposes would form the nucleus of an Empire fishing fleet. The quantity of fish consumed in this country was 600,000 tons a year, which was equal to one-fortieth of the total food consumed per head of the population, and the scheme might increase the fish supply to at least four times that quantity.

It will take ten years to develop the ideas the committee wish to carry out. It must be apparent to every one that no private individual could accomplish such a great work in the way that an

Empire Council could do. There was the objection that it would be Socialistic for the State to carry on such a business; but the committee would begin where vested interests were the least in force—except as regarded the fishermen engaged in the business—and that was in the bed of the ocean. All on board the fishing vessels, from the captain to the lowest man, should participate in the proceeds of the catches. If the State secured a penny a pound, which was £9 6s. a ton, it would be quite possible to make a gross profit in 10 years of £36,000,000, out of which the sinking fund for the development charges must be met. It would be for the State to regulate the prices in every town in the country; and the State should have the control of the home fisheries as well.

Sir William Lever has stated that an expenditure of ten thousand dollars in bringing two hundred acres of cocoa-nut-palms to maturity may be estimated to give an income of ten thousand dollars an acre in about ten years. So it will be an immense source of income for the state to develop the vast imperial holdings of palm-lands, which probably amount to several million acres.

This programme is now undergoing the raking fire of nearly all the liberal and radical papers, including the "Nation," the "Manchester Guardian," the "Labour Leader" and the "Herald." They believe that the scheme means the ruthless exploitation of native workers.

Whatever comes of this particular programme, it is now certain that the British Commonwealth will explore, analyze, and organize its incalculable resources.

There is a committee on the growth of cotton in the Empire: "to investigate the best means of developing the growing of cotton within the Empire and to advise the Government as to the necessary measures to be taken for this purpose" (in the words of Sir A. Stanley, President of the Board of Trade).

There is a committee for preparing a scheme for the establishment in London of an Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau (by direction of the War Cabinet). The purpose will be—

(a) To collect information in regard to the mineral resources and metal requirements of the Empire, and

(b) To advise what action, if any, may appear to enable such resources to be developed and made available to meet requirements.

The action of the War Cabinet in appointing this Imperial Mineral Resources Committee is the result of a resolution passed by the Imperial War Conference. The resolution read :—

That it is desirable to establish in London an Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau, upon which should be represented Great Britain, the Dominions, India, and other parts of the Empire.

The Bureau should be charged with the duties of collection of information from the appropriate Departments of the Governments concerned and other sources regarding the mineral resources and the metal requirements of the Empire, and of advising from time to time what action, if any, may appear desirable to enable such resources to be developed and made available to meet the metal requirements of the Empire.

That the Conference recommends that his Majesty's Government should, while having due regard to existing institutions, take immediate action for the purpose of establishing such a bureau, and should as soon as possible submit a scheme for the consideration of the other Governments summoned to the Conference.

WHO DOES THE WORK ?

The question has been often asked, How has it been possible to take out five million men and still carry on the productive industries of Great Britain ?

The clearest shortest answer to this has been given by Sir Leo Chiozza Money in the "Daily Express" ;

(1) The men remaining have, as a whole, produced more than in peace.

(2) There has been a better organization of production in some trades, notably the engineering trades.

(3) Large amounts of new capital have been applied by the Government to many important industries.

(4) There has been a removal of restrictions upon output.

(5) Many women have taken up productive work for the first time.

(6) There has been a great contraction of the vast amount of male labour normally employed upon non-productive and uneconomic work ; in some cases the unnecessary work has disappeared altogether ; in others it has been taken up and is now performed by women or girls.

He goes on to say :

Before the war a very large proportion of our male workers were engaged in non-productive work. All our mines, quarries, mills, factories, and workshops employed only $4\frac{1}{4}$ million men. But our male population aged eighteen years and upwards numbered thirteen millions. Therefore it was true that OF OUR MALE POPULATION AGED EIGHTEEN YEARS AND OVER ONLY ABOUT ONE IN THREE WAS ENGAGED DIRECTLY IN PRODUCING INDUSTRIAL WEALTH.

What were all the rest doing ? Distribution, education, Government service, commerce, etc., are all important, but can it be possible that two out of three males—to say nothing of females—were needed to carry them on, as compared with only one in three devoted to producing things ? Most certainly the devotion of so large a proportion of males to non-productive tasks was not only unnecessary, but a sign and a portent of industrial decadence.

The taking of men from non-productive employments has enabled women very easily to make substitution in many cases. A woman works the lift which before the war was worked by an able-bodied man, doing work which no able-bodied man should ever do. The laundry van, which before the war was driven by an able-bodied man, is now driven by a girl. You go to the bank and see capable young women dealing with the books and papers which yesterday were supposed to demand the services of stalwart young men.

At the insurance offices, which before the war employed a great army of young men, girls find no difficulty in accomplishing the work. At the offices of the National Health Insurance Commissioners the work is being done by girls quite as well as by the battalion or so of men who recently were thought to be needed for it. In tens of thousands of commercial, Government, and local government offices female labour is doing what the other year was thought to be men's work.

The idea, therefore, that because a man was a petty clerk, or a shop assistant, or a lift-man, or a driver, or a door-opener, or a tout, or a commission agent, or something of that sort, before the war, he must necessarily go back to his old job, while the woman who has taken his job is to return to her old work, is entirely mistaken.

Organize our power supply ; reform our railway system ; set to work on a decent canal system ; determine production in the metal trades and the chemical trades ; enlarge our wheat area definitely and compulsorily. Do these things, and there will be such a call for labour in connection with them, and in connection with other useful employments arising from them, that in peace as in war, we

shall find that the difficulty is not to find jobs for the men, but to find men for the jobs.

COMPULSORY DEMOCRACY

Mr. Balfour has stated the present concentration of effort in clear terms :

All we can do for the war is to produce men to fight, men and women to work at warlike munitions, men and women to work at those commodities that we can export and with which we can buy abroad other munitions of war. If you divert by your expenditure national energies into wrong channels, by so much you are diverting resources on which we depend for finishing the war and ending it with a successful peace.

Let us transpose that into its equivalent for normal life.

All we can do for the welfare of the community is to produce happy and healthy persons to live a creative life, men and women to work at productive industries, men and women to work at those commodities that we can export and with which we can buy abroad other products for the creation of a life of reasonable satisfaction. If, by your expenditure on personal luxury or by your investment of capital on non-productive trades, you divert national energies into wrong channels, by so much you are diverting resources on which we depend for establishing a high standard of living for the community, and so finishing the labour war and ending it with a successful peace.

The principal of organization and concentration, backed by compulsion, in the interests of the community has for the first time in English history been widely applied. Once applied, it becomes permanent, and is subject to extension. The compulsion has been used to force men to go and die. It has been used to make them work at certain jobs at a fixed rate of pay and to give up other jobs. But it has not been used, except in "controlled" firms and in a limited way, to take control of profits, and it has not been used to force capital to invest in one enterprise and not in another. A man's life is not his own, his power of work is not his own ; but his money, if he is wealthy, is his own. He can invest it in making absinthe ; he can lend it to an exploiter of African labour ; he can create an anti-social industry with it. One

needs only to state it for its absurdity to be seen. Capital will be increasingly governed as labour is already governed. When political democracy was formed, it was inevitable that industrial democracy would result, however tardily. So it is with any partial application of a principle. Once it begins to operate, it gradually extends itself over the full area of its function. The principle of compulsion, applied to the life and labour of men, will a little later reach property, that last sacred stronghold of privilege

These changes are more searching than the direct changes by death and wastage of the war, but it is the war that has hastened them. "The success of this revolution was chiefly due to the wisdom of those who allowed it to develop gradually and almost imperceptibly from existing institutions."

CO-OPERATION, SOCIALISM, SYNDICALISM

Private capitalism, in its old terms of unchecked profiteering and *laissez-faire* exploitation, has already been scrapped as a method of organizing industry. Individualism, with its instinct for property, will of course survive in many forms. Thus in agriculture we are to-day seeing a powerful movement towards the private holding of property, and that property, instead of being held in a few hands, will be widely distributed. The restoration of peasant-land proprietorship in Ireland is an instance. The movement toward tenant holdings in England and Wales is another instance.

But industrial England is looking to other solutions than individualism for the mass of her workers, and has already put those solutions into partial operation. One of those solutions is democratic control of industry by the workers. That means precisely that associations of producers (trade-unions and guilds) will exercise control over the conditions of their work. I have outlined this solution in the chapter on "Workers' Control." It is the solution by syndicalism.

The other solution is the control of industry by associations

of consumers. Those associations are voluntary, as in co-operation, and compulsory, as in state and municipal ownership. This is the solution by co-operation and socialism. There is no difference in principle between co-operation and socialism, but there is a sharply marked difference in the area of the application.

Every solution, whether by association of producers or by association of consumers, needs the check and balance of the other. The syndicalist will exploit the consumer by high prices and over-emphasis on the social value of his own particular trade. The co-operator and state socialist will exploit the worker in order to get products at a low price, and state socialism builds a powerful bureaucracy of expert officials, who form an oligarchy inside the democracy. The ineradicable instinct for property will temper both movements, and Parliament will remain one of the direct expressions of the people's wish between these contending forces, and will continue to act as a corrective of modern government which is government by Cabinet and committee, leaning increasingly toward state socialism. In short, no one movement or tendency fully expresses democracy, which must use each in carefully controlled degree. The method of that control is the problem of the future. The Cabinet and bureaucracy have meanwhile grown strong, and Parliament has weakened. In the future no one tendency inside the social movement is likely to be the Aaron's rod and swallow up the contending tendencies, though socialists, syndicalists, and co-operators make the same wholehearted claims for their pet solution that advocates of big business, free trade, and empire development make. Out of all these powerful "pushes" will come a resultant, a collision into harmony, which will be the new order, the reconstructed community, the organized state under democratic control.

A figure will make this clear. In warfare in France and Flanders there is a series of separate spaces that can be made untenable for the enemy. There are the differing zones of shrapnel and of infantry fire and a space between them,

and that space belongs to the machine-gun. There is a similar division of effective function in the attack on the capitalistic system. There is an area that the municipal and governmental control of industry does not reach, and a portion (not the whole) of that area is reached by the co-operative movement. There is a further area reached by syndicalism. In the near future at least there will be left much "dead ground" of which private enterprise will still alone have the range.

Thus in the most careful study ever made of the co-operative movement, the report of the committee of the Fabian Research Department, the possible extent of the annual trade of the movement is put at "something like four to five hundred millions sterling, being only one-fifth of the total national production." Also, co-operation "offers in itself nothing in the nature of a complete solution of the problem of the status of the workers."

And so with the limitations of public ownership. Some of the coming trouble will be a fight of syndicalism against state socialism. The state, as manager of industry and employer of labour, operating through its bureaucracy of experts, will issue orders to its employees. They will claim the right to strike. Will they then be "called to the colours," as was done in the French syndicalist strike? Will the troops be ordered out against them, as is done in Colorado, Illinois, and Pennsylvania? Is the right to strike to be taken from Government employees? If so, the socialistic state will become an oligarchy of expert officials possessing a tyrannical power. It will cease to be under democratic control. For the socialistic state is not the consummation of democracy; it is only one expression of democracy. And syndicalism is another expression. To no one expression can the full power be safely handed over.

What has co-operation in Great Britain done after seventy years of experience? It has established and has running at the present time fifteen distributive stores, with three million members, controlling sales to the value of four

hundred million dollars a year, and producing goods to the value of seventy million dollars a year. The research committee summarizes the service of co-operation. It has afforded in manufacturing and in wholesale and retail trading an alternative of working-class origin to the capitalist system. Manual workers have proved themselves capable of administering it under democratic control. It has steadily grown for seventy years. It has kept down retail prices, distributed millions of dollars as dividend on purchases, money that would have gone to the capitalist class. By co-operation the manual workers are receiving a training in the administering of self-governing industrial republics. Co-operation within its own area has done away with that specialized brain power known as directive control, which consists in cunning for the defeat of rivals, under-cutting, nibbling at wages, adulteration, cornering the market, promotion, stock-exchange gambling. A tendency in co-operation, as in socialism, is to put administration into the hands of salaried officials. Thus the English Co-operative Wholesale Society has twenty-one thousand paid employees, directed by a salaried committee of thirty-two members.

The business of co-operation is not likely to go far beyond the articles consumed by that portion of the wage-earning class enjoying fairly regular employment and wages, together with the "black coated proletariat"—clerks, petty officials, and the like. The submerged tenth are unable to avail themselves of co-operation, and the one-eighth or one-tenth of the population known as the middle and upper classes do not care to avail themselves of it. But it is those other classes, from unskilled labourer to minor professionals, with incomes from \$250 to \$2000 a year, who are increasing in numbers and importance, and who are entering into control of the new social order. Co-operation as an association of consumers will probably not touch the greater part of agriculture, the greater part of manufacture for foreign consumption, the industries providing material and plants for other industries, and those industries, like the post-office and the rail-

way system, in which the day-by-day consumers do not constitute a suitable unit of administration, or in which administration by the compulsory machinery of national or municipal government is required. Accordingly, four-fifths of national production will remain outside the reach of co-operative organization. Co-operation is not an alternative to the capitalist system for a majority of manual workers. It is an alternative for a minority,

What has socialism done? The summary was given by the Fabian Research Committee in the late spring of 1915. Government has already become socialistic. It has outgrown its police power alone and has become an administration of public services—housekeeping on a national scale. How are we to know the difference between governmental and capitalist enterprise? The test of whether administration in a given department and area is socialistic is whether any excess of receipts over cost of working goes not to the profit of the administrators or of any private owner or shareholders, but to public purposes. Down to a century ago government concerned itself with provision for religious rites, external defence, police, the administration of justice, and the maintenance of prisons, poor relief, regulation, inspection, audit, and taxation. Since then government has entered many fields.

It has entered the domain of communication and transport, transmitting communications, conveying persons, and transporting commodities. This industry employs at least one-tenth of all the working population, and absorbs an expenditure of two hundred million pounds a year. This largest of all industries in its three functions is passing increasingly throughout the civilized world into governmental organization. Thus the inland conveyance of letters by private enterprise is to-day left to countries like Abyssinia, Afghanistan, and Arabia.

The construction and maintenance of roads is virtually nowhere a service of private capitalism. The United Kingdom is now spending yearly nearly one hundred million dollars

on thoroughfares, with approximately 100,000 men constantly employed.

Local authorities in Great Britain in 1913 were operating 171 tramways as against one in 1881. In 1913 the municipal capital in tramways was \$275,000,000.

In waterways, embanking, lighting, watching, ports, the docks and quays are nearly everywhere provided and maintained by Government. The capital outlay in Great Britain is over five hundred million dollars.

Of the total railway mileage of the world, just about half is owned and worked entirely by Government enterprise. The railways of Great Britain have been in the hands of private capital, but during the war the Government has controlled them, and there is a powerful movement toward nationalizing them. This movement resulted a few weeks ago in nationalizing the railways of Ireland.

In public health and sanitary work we see in local-government water undertakings of Great Britain twenty thousand men employed, and a thousand million dollars administered in premises, plant, and machinery.

The removal of house refuse, city drainage, and street sweeping are increasingly governmental services.

Public baths, public laundries, and swimming-pools represent a municipal investment in Great Britain of twenty-five million dollars.

State medical service is steadily spreading; doctoring for the destitute, governmental insurance systems, public medical service in university, hospitals, asylums, schools, prisons, health departments, workhouses, army, navy, police, post-office. Nurses, chemists, and doctors are rapidly becoming the officers of the community. Where already perhaps one hundred thousand of them are in public institutions and Government departments the rest will shortly be.

In land improvement there are already over three hundred local commissioners of sewers, spending about two and a half million dollars a year. Several million dollars a year are spent in India in new irrigation canals, in improving

the network of water-channels, in banking river channels. At this moment Ireland requires an expenditure of a few million dollars to drain her bogs, set her river-levels, and establish an irrigation system.

Public education, recreation, parks, libraries, music, dances, piers, museums, art galleries, Government books and other printed matter, are all employing men and women and absorbing capital. The printing bill of the British Government alone is over five million dollars a year.

Banking facilities are passing under governmental control. Metallic coinage and the issue of paper money are state services. British post-office savings-bank deposits and trustee savings-bank deposits amount to twelve hundred and fifty million dollars. The British Government lends money to land-owners, local authorities, public-utility societies for agriculture improvements, drainage, and housing, and to the householder wishing to purchase his own home. In the purchase and sale of securities for customers the Postmaster-General of Great Britain does a business of millions a year. In 1915 the British Government took under its control the investment of capital. In 1914 the Bank of England, as the agent of the British Government, purchased over five hundred million dollars of bills of exchange.

In light, heat, and power the same tendency toward state and municipal ownership is at work. Over three hundred gas undertakings in Great Britain are municipal, and the capital is two hundred and twenty-five million dollars. The Widnes town council claimed four years ago that at from sixteen to twenty-four cents per thousand cubic feet it was supplying gas, with a profit, cheaper than any other gas plant, governmental or capitalist, in the world. Nearly three hundred cities and towns in Great Britain are now supplied with light, heat, and power by the municipal electrical department, representing an investment of two hundred and fifty million dollars, annual gross receipts of over twenty millions, and employing about twenty thousand persons.

Government has gone in for housing, building farm-

labourers' cottages in Ireland, municipal lodging-houses in Great Britain, tenement blocks in London and Liverpool, and developing suburbs. As I show in the report of the Land Inquiry committee, there is beginning a vast extension of governmental rural cottage building, which will provide 120,000 new dwellings or ten per cent. of the present number.

One-sixth of British India is forest reserve, a tract of 240,000 square miles, administered by the Government of India for the public benefit, producing a net revenue of ten million dollars a year. English municipalities are beginning to afforest their water-catchment areas.

The largest farmer in the United Kingdom is the Irish Government, where the congested districts board has 33,000 rent-paying tenants and an average of a quarter of a million acres under its administration for stock and sale of produce.

The mines in the United Kingdom have been under private ownership. But the Government recently took over the coal mines in South Wales, and this is probably the first step in the nationalization of most of the fields. Ireland's prosperity will leap up if her coal-deposits are freed.

There are many Government enterprises in manufacturing industry, producing the articles required for public use, instead of purchasing them to the profit of private concerns. The municipality, with its tramway service, erects its own works and car-sheds, generates its electricity, builds and repairs its cars, prints its tickets. In England the post-office gets the bulk of its mail-sacks made by the prison department.

At this writing the British Government is considering taking over the manufacture and sale of liquor, which will make it one of the greatest shopkeepers in the world.

In the face of this summary of the research committee, it is theoretic to debate about the principle of socialism *versus* private capitalism. The tendency toward public ownership is under full swing, and no phrases can stop it. The committee quotes what a secretary for the colonies, Lewis Harcourt, said :

In these days, the Colonial Office has more the attributes of an immense trading and administrative concern than those of earlier days, when it was a mere machine of Government. I am a coal and tin miner in Nigeria, a gold miner in Guiana. I seek timber in one colony, oil and nuts in another, cocoa in a third—copra and copal, sisal and hemp, cotton, coffee, tobacco are common objects of my daily care. . . . My days and nights are spent in the study of medicine, in the details of railway construction, with a desire that the smallest sum of money may lay the largest number of miles of track in the fewest possible days.

Six years ago the census showed in Government employ in England and Wales 788,550 persons, 299,599 in state departments and 588,951 under local authorities. It is reasonable to estimate that in the United Kingdom over one million are now in public employment. The Socialist or Labour parties cannot fully claim this Government action as the result of their propaganda. The bulk of this socialist enterprise has been initiated and carried out by persons of the aristocratic or propertied classes, by business men and experts, and middle-class residents. Men like Joseph Chamberlain were not "out" to introduce the co-operative commonwealth, though unconsciously they have hastened its coming. The reasons that have directly led to this spread of socialism show that the consideration in the creators of the policy was the interest of the community as a whole and the interest of the citizens as consumers. The test of the policy is not by theory, but by practice and experience.

In four great fields both socialism and co-operation are as yet largely leaving the field to private capital. Those fields are: the special service of the idle rich, much of international trade and its finance, the unorganized portion of the shipping industry, and a large part of agriculture and fishing. And yet even in agriculture the coming legislation is leaning heavily toward what is virtually state control; and in fishing the Empire Resources Development committee are putting through a programme which is socialistic.

State and municipal ownership and management now administer in the United Kingdom seventy-five hundred

million dollars of capital. The capital thus administered and the volume of business thus done is probably a hundred times as great as that of co-operation, and is increasing with giant strides. This state and municipal socialism is most successful in communication and transport, land improvement, sanitation, and public health service, education and recreation, extraction of coal and other minerals, banking and insurance, manufacture and distribution of certain commodities, and the construction and preparation of articles required in the public service.

The enterprises of co-operation and of state and municipal socialism hardly ever compete with one another because their spheres are distinct. The co-operative society produces and distributes mainly ordinary household supplies. Socialism has devoted itself to commodities and services unsuited to co-operation. This division of function will undoubtedly long continue.

The more the Government engages in industrial functions as contrasted with functions merely of police and national defence, the more essentially democratic does its administration tend to become. But as yet, parallel with what we have seen in co-operation, the humbler grades of employees in state and municipal service have as little influence on the management of their department and are as much governed from above as if they were in capitalist employment.

On the other hand, in comparison with joint-stock capitalism, Government management of industry means ultimately a large number of independent employers and an increase in local control. And this because in practice there is a rapid growth of municipal enterprises, with a multiplication of separate employers. Whereas in capitalist enterprise there is the supremacy of the national trust and combine, such as Lord Rhondda's in South Wales, over private industry, thus lessening the number of employers.

The extension of state and municipal management is rapidly proceeding, and its potential area of control is almost illimitable. In these next years if those industries

and services already governmentally administered in one place or another are generally brought under public administration, the aggregate volume of state and municipal socialism will be increased probably five- or six-fold. Such an increase, without adding a single fresh industry or service to those already successfully nationalized or municipalized in one country or another, will probably bring into the service of national and local government an actual majority of the adult population. With co-operation developing along its own lines, the combination of socialism and co-operation will mean that probably three-fourths of all the world's industrial capital will be under collective or non-capitalistic administration.

Certain activities will long remain outside this extension of collective enterprise: certain branches of agriculture, art, invention, new markets, new individual enterprises. The future organization of industry and the state will therefore include more than one form of control. There is need to secure for persons employed in co-operation, in Government enterprise, and in private enterprise some real control over their own working lives. With that method of control I have dealt in the chapter on "The discovery." There is need, also, to secure for the users and consumers of particular products and services some real power of influencing their production otherwise than by Parliament and the town council.

Such are the conclusions of the research committee, which I have reproduced largely in their own words. Out of it all emerges the outline of the coming England, of socialism, co-operation, syndicalism, big business, private property.

AUDITING WAGES AND PROFITS

The whole wage question will become increasingly a matter for expert accountants. This will mean a joint audit of costs, presented by management and men, and determined by the state. In the South Wales coal-fields the figures

as presented by the federation executive, after the cost of standard labour and stores and other costs of production have been deducted, show :

<i>Period.</i>	<i>Wages.</i>	<i>Profits.</i>
From April, 1910, to June, 1915.....	67.00 (per cent.)	9.67
„ July, 1915, to June, 1916.....	61.79 „	16.35
Quarter ended June 30, 1916.....	56.46 „	24.05

The owners reply that the rise in the cost of production has kept even with the rise in the selling price. They instance the prices of pit wood, rails, and colliery stores, in addition to a succession of wage increases.

Obviously this is not a question for frenzied rhetoric, but for expert analysis. One wonders if, as we approach the minimum wage in legislation, we are approaching the maximum return permitted to capital in public services. To make this clear : will the state lay down a minimum wage of thirty-six shillings for the worker, and a prohibition for absentee capital of anything over ten per cent. ?

THE TIE VOTE

The present proposals for workers' control through workshop councils leave the final vote on a tie with the management. The workers, sitting as council members with the managers of the industry, will become partners instead of wage hands in the business. They will be "junior partners" at first. The extent of their control will be determined by their ability and their self-conscious power as a class.

HOUSING

A clear summary of the various policies for Housing Reform has been given by Henry R. Aldridge, secretary of the National Housing and Town Planning Council, in a paper called "Housing after the War." He writes :

"The Unionist housing policy is one of aid to local authorities to house the poorest members of the community at a loss and to meet the deficit in the finance of housing schemes by State grants.

"The Liberal housing policy, whilst providing for the giving of general grants in aid of housing efforts by local authorities, has as its central feature the raising of wages in order to secure that all classes of the community shall be enabled to have decent housing accommodation.

"The members of the Labour Party, with that close and intimate knowledge which they possess of all social questions, have adopted a line of policy which combines both these policies."

The Joint Committee on Labour Problems after the War estimates that 1,000,000 new houses, to be let for a few shillings a week, will be required at the end of the war. It urges the Government to act at once through the local authorities with the aid of a free governmental grant.

In the city of Stanley, England, "overcrowding is found to exist in 50 per cent. of the houses. It can hardly be doubted that the existence of overcrowding on so serious a scale is one of the chief factors which gives rise to such a high infantile mortality as is found in Stanley, namely 169 per one thousand births." So says the authoritative investigation "Livelihood and Poverty—A study of Working Class Households in Northampton, Warrington, Stanley, and Reading" (1915).

And it goes on to report :

One-half of the households below the poverty line at Warrington and Reading, nearly one-half at York, and one-third at Northampton, were living in poverty because the wages of a head of the household were so low that he could not support a family of three children or less. A great part of the poverty revealed by our inquiries is not intermittent but permanent, not accidental or due to exceptional misfortune, but a regular feature of the industries of the towns concerned. Of all the causes of primary poverty which have been brought to our notice, low wages are by far the most important. To raise the wages of the worst paid workers is the most pressing social task with which the country is confronted to-day.

In Northampton nearly 13 per cent. and in Reading 15 per cent. earn less than 20 shillings. In four out of five of the towns, more than one quarter, and in two out of five towns, more than one-third of the adult male workers were earning less than 24 shillings per week.

Sixty years ago, the population of England and Wales was evenly divided between town and country dwellers. Now four out of every five persons are living in the towns, and only one out of five in the country. Turning to rural conditions, as described in the investigation "How the Labourer Lives," we find :

Seventy per cent. of the agricultural workers in England and Wales are paid labourers, having no direct financial interest in the success or otherwise of the work in which they are engaged, and only 30 per cent. farmers, small holders, or members of their families. This is a serious fact, for probably in no other European country is there so high a proportion of agricultural workers who are "divorced from the soil." In 1907 the weekly earnings of ordinary agricultural labourers in England averaged 17 shillings 6 pence. It may be taken as an established fact that a family of five persons whose total income does not exceed 20 shillings 6 pence, and whose rent is two shillings, is living below the "poverty line." If we now turn to the actual wages of ordinary agricultural labourers we find that with five exceptions, the average earnings in every county of England and Wales are below it. The real wages of agricultural labourers have actually diminished since 1900.

Let the reader try for a moment to realize what this means. It means that from the point of view of judicious expenditure, the be-all and end-all of life should be physical efficiency. It means that people have no right to keep in touch with the great world outside the village by so much as taking in a weekly newspaper. It means that a wise mother, when she is tempted to buy her children a penny-worth of cheap oranges, will devote the penny to flour instead. It means that the temptation to take the shortest railway journey should be strongly resisted. It seems that toys and dolls and picture books, even of the cheapest quality, should never be purchased; that birthdays should be practically indistinguishable from other days. It means that every natural longing for pleasure or variety should be ignored or set aside. It means, in short, a life without colour, space, or atmosphere, that stifles and hems in the labourer's soul as in too many cases his cottage does his body.

The motto of one of the villagers is given : "We don't live, we linger." And yet, with these appalling conditions of primary poverty in city and country, it is true that "there has been an enormous improvement in the conditions of the

industrial population in Britain during the last sixty or seventy years. There is a residuum of the population living on the margin of subsistence, whose lot could not have been much worse in 1830 than it is now. It is possible that the size of this residuum is as large, or even larger, now than seventy years ago, but it bears a smaller proportion to the total population."

LIGHT RAILWAYS

Belgium has 22.8 miles of light railway to every 100 square miles of territory. Great Britain has .37 of 1 mile to every 100 square miles. That is, Belgium has $38\frac{1}{2}$ times as many miles of light railway in proportion to her total area as Great Britain. This means not only more agriculturists, but it means that more industrial workers can and do live on the land, instead of in the slums of cities. Twenty-three per cent. of the occupied persons in Belgium are engaged in agriculture, but 56 per cent. of the whole population live in rural and only 44 per cent. in urban communes. "Everywhere in travelling through Belgium one hears of tracts of land opened up to profitable agriculture or commerce by means of the light railways." The extraordinary development of agriculture is to no small extent due to these facilities for the transport of produce in bulk and in small quantities. A thorough study of this system of light railways has been made by Seebohm Rowntree in "Land and Labour—Lessons from Belgium." He summarizes a detailed consideration as follows :

In comparison with her size, Belgium has the most extensive system of main and light railways and canals in the world. Almost all her main railways are national property, and she is financing her light railways so cleverly that they will become public property at the end of a certain number of years, without any appreciable cost to the public purse. She has frankly recognized that light railways cannot do more than just pay their way, and will never show so high a return upon capital as to induce capitalists to choose them in preference to other industrial investments. If economically managed, however, they can be run practically without loss, and

they are of inestimable value in opening up country districts and developing agriculture. Indeed, it may be said that small holdings cannot be made fully successful without such means of cheap and rapid transport as light railways afford. Canals, which are almost all national property in Belgium, are looked upon as high roads, and the State is satisfied if the very low charges made for their use cover, or almost cover, the cost of upkeep. The very low rates charged for the transport of goods both on railways and canals are a great benefit to industry as well as agriculture, and the extraordinary cheapness of the workmen's tickets upon the railways has economic effects of a far-reaching character—among others it facilitates decentralization of population and industries, and thus largely destroys the monopoly of landowners in towns.

CHURCH ATTENDANCE

In the midweek of November, 1916, this advertisement appeared in the "Guardian":

The LIVING of Catherston Leweston, near Charmouth, Dorset, is VACANT. The adult inhabitants of the parish are 22, the full value of the living £75; value last year £67 17s. Healthy, southern locality, near the sea. No rectory-house.

A few years ago the "Daily News" made a census of London churches. At that time the number of City churches connected with the Established Church was 45. The attendances at all these churches on Sunday morning was 4,634. At St. Alban's there were 13 persons present, of whom six were children. St. Mildred's had 14. In the morning, St. Alphege had 37, of whom 21 were children. In the evening, 37 came, but one child was unable to come, and an additional woman attended, and saved the average. Of the total 45 churches, eight had attendances over 100 in the morning.

In one Nonconformist Congregational Church, the City Temple, there were 3,463 persons in the congregation, as compared to 4,634 persons in all the 45 churches of the Established Church. This is a thoroughly unfair instance, however, because the City Temple has had men of genius in its pulpit. The average Nonconformist Church, like the average

church of the Establishment, has lost much of its old-time hold on the people.

MONEY OR EDUCATION

The labour exchanges are constantly thrown against human problems. One of their executives told me of being forced to decide whether to send a lad of fourteen years old, in poverty, into a fairly well-paid job, which will prove after a couple of years only a "blind alley," or to put him into a trade which will give him a low wage, but train him for a life-job. It is easy to decide on a "general principle," but what is the answer when one studies the living conditions of the boy and his family?

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

Women in industry have opened many questions. Are they, for instance, willing to undergo a long industrial training from which they will be graduated skilled workers? One investigator states that in dressmaking materials they are ignorant of texture and fabric, "though these would seem to form a subject matter peculiarly fitted to their tastes. It is men who occupy the higher positions in this department because they have cared to fit themselves by a course of study."

Feminist leaders answer that underpayment is a cause, not a result, and that the war has revealed the woman's aptitude for semi-skilled work.

Miss Proud, in her book on "Welfare Work," reports:

There is a tendency for women to feed the machines which men control; that is to say, women's work is apt to become mechanical and low-priced, therefore uninspiring and inefficient. . . . Women are inferiors in the industrial world because they have not decided (except individually) that they desire to be otherwise, or at least that they desire to pay in training the price of efficiency.

If they remain untrained, they remain unskilled, and can not receive the wages of skilled labour. Are they to form a great new proletarian mass of unskilled labour, with low

wages, while men workers direct them and receive a higher wage? Will such a division, growing ever sharper, answer the woman's craving for equality, which is one of the main impulses of the woman's movement? Will a system of wage slavery, with men eternally in the position of boss, foreman, and superintendent, seem a fuller life than the home?

Factory inspectors and employers state that the girl up to the age of twenty-five often has her mind only half on her work and the other half on her prospects of marriage. The evening is to her the most valuable part of the day, because she then becomes a social being. In a large and exceptionally healthful factory the women left the factory at about twenty-five years of age.

"Their evenings," said the manager, "have ceased to be matters of first-rate importance to them, and they do not mind entering domestic service."

Miss Proud summarizes this sort of report, of which there were many:

The suggestion is that women, as a rule, do not give themselves unreservedly to their work until they no longer anticipate giving themselves in their offspring.

WOMEN AND POPULATION

Adelyne More, in her excellent pamphlet "Fecundity versus Civilization," has collected extracts from a wide reading of recent discussions on Birth Control. She quotes from Frau Stritt, president of the Woman Suffrage Union of Germany, who occupies a position in the German suffrage movement similar to that held by Mrs. Fawcett in England. Frau Stritt writes:

This question (the responsibility of women for their lives as mothers) involves for all those who have learned to think things to their conclusion the real *innermost core of the woman question*. Thus in a certain sense the population question is to be regarded as *the woman question*,

and Frau Stritt quotes from Dr. Rutgers:

Through physiological knowledge the woman has again come to be the mistress of her own body and of her own fate.

I am seeking to record tendencies, not to offer special pleas for theories in this profoundly important matter of population, the solution of which will determine economic basis, social structure, and foreign policy. It is probably the most significant single step the race has ever taken in the control of environment. And it will be with this as with other extensions of that control. It will alter human relationships. Children—"that is the indispensable condition both for military and industrial success," says Naumann: food for powder and food for factories. The fact that such advocacy still exists must be faced by those who would blithely cut down the number of the western democracies.

Adelyne More sees the two problems.

(1) Birth-control must be practised in the slum. Until the "lower class" restricts, our civilization is being replenished in part by the feeble-minded and the diseased.

(2) The militaristic nations must practise birth-control or they will over-run the democracies.

She quotes from Alfred Naquet :

If the individuals who compose the nation wish to progress, to develop, to live ; if, in order to attain this truly human ideal, they depart from the instinctive habits of the non-human animal ; if they limit their offspring in order to raise themselves in dignity, in wealth, in intellectual power ; to overcome the perils in which organic nature abounds, and to investigate the secrets of nature—then their country will be vanquished, invaded, spoiled of its wealth, and their children ruined and reduced to partial slavery.

Sir John Halliday Croom, Professor of Midwifery in the University of Edinburgh, writes ;

The falling birth-rate is due to many complex causes, but a great many of the voluntarily sterile marriages are due to the fear and dread which women have of child bearing. This, so far as my personal experience is concerned, is a growing dread, and I feel sure is one of the many causes giving rise to the falling birth-rate. Now, if a knowledge of *Twilight Sleep* were to become generally known amongst women, it would do a great deal to abrogate the first curse, and so relieve their minds of an overpowering dread.

Sidney Webb wrote, a few years ago :

Twenty-five per cent. of our parents is producing 50 per cent. of the next generation. . . . The ultimate future of these islands may be to the Chinese !

This year Dean Inge notes the tendency towards what I may call industrial celibacy, which he summarizes :

In all trades where the women work for wages the birth-rate has fallen sharply.

This restriction would tend to separate women into classes, of which we have an instance in the Athenian City-State, where there was a class of sterile intellectual alien women, in sharp distinction to the mothers of the race. We read in " The Greek Commonwealth " :

Women tended to become crystallized into two separate types—the household matron under the tutelage of a husband or some other male protector, and the independent professional woman, who had indeed her " guardian " as Athenian law demanded, but kept him for occasional use, as we keep our solicitors.

These professional women were wool-workers and market-women or retailers.

But the chief and most conspicuous profession open to an alien-born woman in a Greek city was to be what was known as a " companion." It was " companions," not marriageable girls, whom the young Athenian encountered in mixed gatherings, in attendance, perhaps, on some of the most refined and distinguished men of the day ; for it was by contributing to the success of these parties, from which the native-born woman was rigidly excluded, that they earned their livelihood. " We have companions for the sake of pleasure," says Demosthenes, making a clear distinction in which there is no hint of overlapping, " and wives to bear us lawful offspring and be faithful guardians of our houses."

Though Athens had no Shakespeare to help us to understand them they must often have felt as lonely and as sad at heart as the poor Fool. If they had been allowed the support of their secluded sisters who could only watch them wistfully from their windows, as they mingled with the men in the streets and in the marketplace, they might have set the intercourse of the sexes, for the first time in history, on an intelligent basis, and saved the memory of Athens from a reproach of which it is not possible to clear her.

The suggestion of a woman's sex strike is humorously dealt with by Aristophanes in his *Lysistrata*. "Athens witnessed the rise of a movement for the emancipation of woman." Euripides expressed the "war-cry" of suffering woman, and their revolt from the "hard hating voices." But their bitterness did not avail, because organizing social thought had not arrived at the solution. To-day the effort is renewed to give expression to the various and complex dispositions of millions of individual women. War and the strife of labour and capital are surface ripples compared with the immense instinctive forces let loose by this effort. Governments and trade-unions will be broken if they oppose it.

CLOTHES

At the meeting of shareholders of the Fore Street Warehouse Company a net profit for the year 1916 of \$315,000 was announced. In 1914 the profit was \$140,000. The chairman, in explaining the prosperity of this wholesale drapery company, said that "there were many women who for one reason or another had now more money to spend on surplus requirements than they had had at any previous time, and whose first and natural desire was to replenish their wardrobes."

The fact that drapery houses generally experienced a profitable year in 1916 is shown by the reports of the firms as given in "The Times." Messrs. J. F. & H. Roberts, a Manchester house, record a net profit of £42,220 or £24,000 more than three years previously. Messrs. Hunter, Barr & Co., of Glasgow, announce an improvement of fifty per cent. on 1913, the net profit for last year being £32,488. In the case of Messrs. John Howell & Co. the figure for last year was £42,158 against £10,580 in 1913. This is the highest result in the forty-six years' history of this company, and is nine times better than four years ago. Messrs. Pawsons & Leafs record an advance from £7,639 to £35,853 in the three years. Messrs. Foster, Porter & Co., of Wood Street, also announce

profits nearly three-and-a-half times those for the last year of the peace, though in this case additional capital has been called up during the interval. The profit for 1916 was £49,188. Messrs. Alliston & Co. have turned a loss of £6,406 in 1913 into a profit of £11,156 last year.

Balancing this increased expenditure, we have many thousands of cases, of which Mrs. Pember Reeves has collected examples such as the following :

Mrs. P., whose husband is a railway man, used to get 27 shillings before the war, and now has 33 shillings. She has a new baby, which brings the number of her children up to five. Her rent for three rooms was 7 shillings ; it is now 8 shillings for four rooms. She always paid a shilling a week each to a clothing and a boot club, and this she continues to do. Her "gramophone" ("the women are all buying a piano or gramophone") appears to be that she now buys twelve loaves a week instead of seven, and pays four shillings instead of 1 shilling 5½ pence for it. Her coal costs her 10½ pence more, her meat 2 shillings more, her tea 5 pence, her potatoes 6 pence, and the rest of her expenditure is about 1 shilling 10 pence higher than it was before the war. She is getting six shillings more, but the items just quoted show that on them alone she is spending over eight shillings more than she used to do. She therefore, has ceased to buy fish, bacon, eggs, cocoa, jam, and cow's milk altogether, and buys less quantities of pot-herbs, margarine, and sugar.

TRADE UNIONS AND VOTES FOR WOMEN

If the recommendations of the Speaker's Franchise Conference are carried into effect, the male electorate will number nearly 11 million out of a manhood of 12½ million. But the Speaker's Conference dodged the woman suffrage question, and, instead of a unanimous finding, they passed on the onus of giving women the vote to Parliament. They gave only a majority vote to the "principle," and presented a "proposal" which will give the suffrage to six million women out of 14 million. In short, they have "side-stepped," and left "Lloyd George's munition girls," who "saved the nation" to win the vote if they can. The Woman's Movement in

Great Britain will continue to be in part political, not because it does not value the human implications of woman's position in the modern world, but because it believes the franchise is necessary in order to achieve those higher values. The insistence on "Votes for Women" has wrongly seemed to some Continental critics as the superficial catchphrase of women who had not plumbed the meaning of feminism.

Industrially, working women face the same situation as politically. The fight for a decent standard of living is only in its beginning. There are only 74,000 factories and workshops out of 277,000 in the United Kingdom under regulations or special rules. At Barking, a firm, engaged in the manufacture of india rubber goods, was employing 600 women. Soon after the outbreak of the war, the firm announced that workers in the warping shed would be employed if they signed this agreement: "We, the undersigned, agree to work without a trade union." The manager said: "I will have no woman in the firm who belongs to a trade union." Eighty of the women belonging to the warping department refused to sign the paper. The majority of them found work elsewhere.

Certain trade unions have opened their membership to women—the Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union, the Steel Smelters' Union, some of the unions in the Federation of Furnishing Trades, the National Union of Railwaymen, and the Railway Clerks' Association, and some smaller unions. But the engineering trade—where the largest movement of women into men's work has taken place—has not made up its mind, and has improvised a Speaker's Conference compromise in which women are enrolled in the National Federation of Women Workers, by arrangement with the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. About 50,000 women have been so organized out of 500,000 women munition makers. The working woman's place is either the sweat shop or trade-union. As J. J. Mallon, who has long mediated in wage and status disputes, says:

The line of separation between skilled and unskilled workmen is shown by the war to rest on little more than a convention, and the craftsmen realize that if the labourer is not admitted to comradeship all their privileges are insecure.

And that line of separation is equally a convention between men and women.

"The Woman Worker," an organ of the woman's trade union movements, states :

The women who are doing very well are those who have had the help, not merely of their own organizations, but of the great men's unions. The Government protection of wages has been given, not in proportion to the needs of the workers, or to their usefulness, but solely in proportion to the strength of the demand.

And it instances Newcastle, where there are 6,000 women trade-union members, and the award given in the case of Messrs. Armstrong Whitworth's is superior to others, the time rate being fixed at 5 pence an hour, with special rates for gaugers, examiners, and danger zone workers.

So, in the next five years, women must win over Government, the men's trade unions, and the employers.

IRISH RAILWAYS

Irish railways were investigated a few years ago by the British Government. Their commissioners found that the Irish railway problem is the restriction of agriculture, industry and trade in Ireland, because internal and export transit rates are on a higher scale than the rates charged for conveyance of commodities which compete with Irish products in Irish and British markets. The decadence of Irish industry has been accelerated by the establishment of low through rates from British manufacturers to Irish villages, rates which have been much lower in scale than the local rates from Irish cities to Irish villages. The British controlled Irish railways favoured the British manufacturer at the expense of the local Irish manufacturer. The woollen trade and the textile and pottery industries have withered.

But not only have through import rates into Ireland for

many years been relatively lower than the Irish internal rates, but also through rates from abroad to British ports and interior centres have been on a lower scale than the export rates from Ireland. As the result of this, not only has Irish commercial industry been strangled, but Irish agriculture has been crippled. Even Ireland's one best agricultural industry, live-stock, expanded only about 16 per cent. in twenty years, and the cattle trade employed comparatively little labour. In eggs, Russia has been competing successfully against Ireland. On November 14, 1916, T. W. Russell, vice-president of the Department of Agriculture, stated publicly that by far the largest proportion of the damage done in transit to exported eggs took place after the eggs had left Ireland.

Winter dairying would be stimulated by proper railway facilities. If coals came to Newcastle from Cologne there would be prompt action. But Danish butter came into Limerick, one of the principal centres of the Irish butter trade. Irish butter is not to be had throughout the year in quantity enough for home consumption, though climate and agricultural conditions of Ireland are more favourable for winter dairying than those of Denmark. Better methods of production and a reduction of railway rates, encouraging farmers to go in for winter dairying, are both needed.

The classification of Irish goods, each with its own rate, is confusing. The secretary of the co-operative movement stated to the Railway Commission that "the influence exercised over Irish railways by English companies is a bad influence, a growing influence, and likely to grow further."

The managing director of the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company asserted that the London and North-Western Railway Company practically controls the Irish railways, and that a company like his own, when competing with that railway company across the Channel, is virtually powerless, as whatever rates it agrees to his company has to agree to the same.

Just as Ireland has been importing food when she could

produce it, so she has been making large imports in coal when she has extensive coal fields. Here, as in agriculture, railway facilities are needed. The required additional capital for opening certain of them up will be forthcoming when the requisite railway communication is provided. This is true of the Castlecomer and the Arigna coal fields. Four miles of railway will release the Arigna mines.

Of the field at Coalisland, E. St. John Lyburn, economic geologist and mineral expert to the Department, said :

The prospector would require \$25,000 or \$50,000 for trial holes, and the field can be developed for \$1,500,000 or \$2,000,000. There is no other country but this where the trial would not have been made before now. There are about 60 million tons of coal, and that can be multiplied by ten or one hundred, as the deposits are revealed by the scaling of the trial holes.

In this one instance, it is capital rather than railway facilities that are required. But at Wolf Hill, and for most of Ireland, the primary need is railway facility. Capital will follow opportunity. The condition of low rates and special facilities in railway transport is a traffic large in volume, regular in transmission, and presented to the carriers in a form convenient to handle. This means regularity of supply, a volume of consignments, good packing of produce, co-operation among producers. The low Continental rates, which have helped to capture the British markets and injure Ireland, are also due in many instances to the cheapening of transport by Government subsidy and and to state ownership of lines.

While I was in Ireland, the Irish railways were taken over by the British Government. No policy has yet been announced. A broad state policy in tillage, fertilizer, seeds, machinery and a unified and extended railway system will bring prosperity to Ireland. If that Government subsidy carries with it the power over Irish taxation, the Irish people will probably reject the policy. In that event, Ireland herself will have to find the money for raising her major industry, agriculture, to a new level. In either case, the

time has come for a momentous decision, on which rests the welfare of the next fifty years.

IRISH AGRICULTURE

A country, whose basic industry is agriculture, has to import its food. A country made up of farmers and underpopulated, has too few farms, and those farms too small and poor. Such is the heritage left to Ireland by "British statesmanship" like that of Sir Robert Peel. The economic basis of Ireland is agriculture, but in 1915 it was forced to import bacon and hams at a cost of \$15,500,000, butter \$2,300,000, oats \$750,000, wheat \$20,000,000, wheat flour \$18,500,000.

T. W. Russell, vice-president of the Department of Agriculture, says :

Without doubt we might have produced every shilling's worth of this and much more ourselves. The Government at the present time is bringing food from every quarter of the globe. It is doing this at immense cost and at no little risk. And all the while there are several millions of acres in Ireland which might be tilled with profit to the farmer and immense advantage to the state.

The Department of Agriculture states that there is every likelihood that next season the supply of superphosphate will not equal the demand. This will prevent the manuring of grass lands. Some thousands of tons of sulphate of copper was exported, not for military purposes. "It was taken from Irish agriculture," says the "Freeman's Journal," "at a time of its sorest need and sold to protect agriculture in other countries. Hence there was only a limited supply of spraying material in this country to stem the ravages of the blight."

It was sold to France and Italy for spraying grapes.

This action left Irish agriculturists with practically no sulphate for the spraying of potatoes. That is the cause of the failure of more than one-fourth of the Irish potato crop this year.

Mr. Runciman, speaking of the United Kingdom, said :

Ploughing is behindhand not only because many horses have been put out of action, but because steam carriage is lying idle in consequence of mechanics having been so freely recruited from some of the big agricultural implement makers.

Irish agriculture has been crippled at the very crisis when food is necessary for Great Britain to win the war. Supplies of seed, fertilizer, imported food-stuffs, and agricultural and dairy machinery, are shortened when they ought to be greatly extended.

An important study of Irish agriculture has recently been made by an expert whom I know, who signs himself "Agricola." I am not at liberty to publish his name. One of the high officials of the British Government in Ireland recommended these articles to me as giving a just picture of conditions. I summarize the conclusions in what follows.

Irish agriculture is backward because three-fifths of the land is held by one-sixth of the landholders under terms restricting or prohibiting tillage. Four-fifths of all the crops are used on the farms for seed or for food to live stock, and only one-fifth is sold either as human food, as food for non-agricultural live stock, or as raw material for industry, such as flax and barley. From that one-fifth must also be deducted the one-seventh which farmers and their families use. So farming product is one-seventh live stock and six-sevenths live stock and produce for live stock. There is room then for extension of the crop area of Ireland, which would both benefit the live stock production and increase corn food for the population. Care must be taken in increasing tillage not to let cows run dry for want of sufficient food. But care can be taken to safe-guard live stock and yet to release the acreage of Ireland for tillage.

Over sixty-four per cent. of the land of Ireland is in grass.

At every stage in his history the Irish agriculturalist has been struggling against laws and ordinances that sought to force grazing instead of tillage. These orders and enactments are on record since the days of Cromwell and the Stuarts.

But the tillage instinct of the Irish farmer has continued strong against alien legislation.

In the middle of the last century, Peel attacked tillage in Ireland, and the wholesale evictions that cleared thousands of acres were the beginning of the grazing ranches that are the cause of contention in our own day.

Four hundred and sixty-seven thousand three hundred and thirty-five acres of wheat were lost to the plough.

The British Food Controller would do well to note that the loss of this food in this crisis in his country's history is due to what was then loudly acclaimed as "wise British statesmanship." The decrease in the area of all corn crops since Sir Robert Peel's Plantation Scheme was started is nearly two million acres. There is a loss of 60 per cent. of corn, of 26 per cent. of green crops, and of 65 per cent. of flax.

In 1916, the area of pasture and grazed mountain increased by 86,585 acres to a total of 12,437,709 acres. The tillage increased only 42,236 acres to a total of 2,400,356 acres. So the same bad tendency towards pasture over tillage is still under way. England in refusing to let Ireland sow has now failed to reap the harvests that would have reduced submarines to toys.

The absence of drainage and of irrigation is a further hindrance to Irish farming. The lowering of river beds, like the Barrow and the Shannon, is suggested. A century ago, a Royal Commission of the British Government recommended a drainage scheme for the 477,784 acres of turf bog in Ireland. Other commissions since then have reinforced the demand, but the bogs still exist and even in recent years have risen on their underwater and travelled over the adjacent country, in one instance for a distance of ten miles and a depth of 40 feet. A bog injures the land around by excessive moisture to an extent of perhaps 50 per cent. of its own area. The bogs of Ireland injure $4\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. of the land. Eight and one-half per cent. of Connacht is bog, and nineteen per cent. of King's County. There is bog in every Irish county. If these bogs were drained,

much land would be freed, irrigation would be possible, and the immense supplies of peat could be used locally, converted into charcoal, for the production of power.

TRUSTS

Inevitably standardization leads to organisation and the creation of combines or trusts. Motor-car makers suggest the use of the great new plants for the purpose of producing cheap cars to compete with those of American make. Already efforts are being made to bring about a combination of British makers.

But it is not alone in the engineering trades that trusts are likely to be formed. Already capital is concentrating in other industries. Lord Rhondda purchased a group of Welsh collieries, and the "Welsh Outlook" reports:

Lord Rhondda now controls over $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions of capital, pays $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions in wages every year, and is virtually the dictator of the economic destiny of a quarter of a million miners. Rumours are also current that Lord Rhondda is extending his control over the press of Wales.

Lord Milner writes:

The future belongs to big-scale business or to such smaller businesses as can learn to work together and to pool their resources for certain objects—the full use of scientific research being only one of them—which individually they are not strong enough to attain.

Recently 42 electric lighting authorities met to perfect an electrical amalgamation for the counties of Cheshire and Lancashire.

But large-scale production alone does not solve the labour difficulty. American mining combines in the West and Pennsylvania, our steel combine in the East, our interstate-railway combines have not softened the labour conflict. Two points of view are common in discussing big combines. One is to fight them as tyrannical and to try to break them up into competing units; the other is to swallow them whole. Neither satisfies. Is the large unit necessarily the most

efficient? Is there no limit to its size? If in the given case, it is the most efficient, what shall be the method of democratic control? These are questions more fertile than ethical questions of the "good trusts," and theoretical questions as to whether Mr. Rockefeller is the middleman between individualism and socialism. A powerful group of men are urging the syndication of industry in England. They approve of "the large scale" for business. Doubtless, they will be successful. But when they have achieved it, they will be faced by the same problems that America now wrestles with.

TARIFF REFORM

The effort will soon be made in Great Britain to thrust into the forefront of politics minor fractional parts of reconstruction as if they were major. A valuable pamphlet called "The Elements of Reconstruction" says:

There is a danger—and nowadays it is the great danger—of becoming just as blindly superstitious about a tariff (as about the kindred superstition of Free Trade). A tariff is perhaps a necessary part of any national economic scheme, but it is not in itself an economic scheme. A tariff varies in public value with the economic constitution of the state it protects. The country will not stand a merely protective tariff in foodstuffs, or in any commodity.

High wages and high prices are leading to a demand for protection. England is talking of coming over on the good old McKinley American basis. The ancient battle-ground of tariff reform is going to be churned into dust and heat. For a growing group of Tories, reinforced by converts, like the new Minister of Labour, are finding the source of all economic weakness in free trade. A convenient, one-phrase summary solution of a complex matter is always appreciated by men who don't enjoy the process of organizing thought. This is no sudden conversion for a portion of the Tories. Disraeli held that "the ultimate aim of the Free Trader was to govern England in the interest of the Industrialist," as Butler points out in his able study of "The Tory

Tradition." "I wish," said Disraeli, "to see our national prosperity upheld alike by a skilful agriculture and by an extended commerce."

That "alike" to be effective would require some of the same magic which Joshua used on the setting sun, for England is an industrial country. But Disraeli and many of the later Tory protectionists acted from long-held conviction. Whereas there is a touch of extempore when Mr. Hodge, the new Minister of Labour, intoxicated by his association with peers of the realm, cries out in Pisgah vision that England is done with free trade. At least it will pay him to study the happy industrial proletariat in Fall River, Lawrence, and other protected cities before he turns to tariff reform as the sole salvation of a country that requires immense quantities of raw material.

This is the danger which England faces, that her leaders will run after panaceas of protection, business government, scientific management, instead of dealing with what is the heart of each one of her problems—human relationship.

As Colonies like India, institute under self-government a protective tariff, a new and fruitful cause of world-war will be introduced into a situation already under chronic strain.

CHILD WELFARE

Sir George Newman, chief medical officer of the Board of Education, states :

The machinery for dealing with the welfare of infants and of children of school age is in existence, although all that ought to be got from it is not yet being obtained. But the machinery for dealing with the children between one year and five years of age has yet to be built.

There is an unexplored problem here. Industry must free the mother for motherhood. What space of time is to be safeguarded, and in what form the economic security of the family is to be guaranteed are matters still imperfectly investigated. Meanwhile, the maternity centres in the municipality,

and such brilliant experimental work in the care of child life as that of Margaret McMillan at Deptford, continue and grow. The Medical Officer of Health in a London borough told me that with 11 official and voluntary centres they were dealing with less than 2,000 infants a year in a birth-rate of 5,000.

BACKWARD RACES

The whole question of undeveloped countries and backward races has never been thought through by Americans. We are lazy-minded on the causes of the war, and cherish a vague pacifism, as if the instinct of nationality and the lust for territory and new markets were non-existent.

A. E. Zimmern writes :

It may still be argued that the question is not, Have the civilized powers annexed large empires ? but Ought they to have done so ? Was such an extension of governmental authority justifiable or inevitable ? Englishmen in the nineteenth century, like Americans in the twentieth, were slow to admit that it was ; just as the exponents of *laissez-faire* were slow to admit the necessity for state interference with private industry at home. But in both cases they have been driven to accept it by the inexorable logic of facts. What other solution of the problem, indeed, is possible ?

He then quotes another authority on the impossibility of standing aside and letting adventurers and exploiters enter, and on the need of backward peoples having contact with the outside world, and receiving protection from oppression and corruption. This is a " duty " of the great powers—" a still better name would be the great responsibilities."

The late Lord Cromer, in defending his rule in Egypt, once said :

What, gentlemen, has there been no moral advancement ? Is the country any longer governed, as was formerly the case, exclusively by the use of the whip ? Is not forced labour a thing of the past ? Has not the accursed institution of slavery practically ceased to exist ? Is it not a fact that every individual in the country, from the highest to the lowest, is now equal in the eyes of the law ; that thrift has been encouraged, and that the most humble member of

society can reap the fruits of his own labour and industry; that justice is no longer bought and sold; that every one is free—perhaps some would think too free—to express his opinions; that King Backsheesh has been dethroned from high places and now only lingers in the purlieus and byways of the administration; that the fertilizing water of the Nile is distributed impartially to prince and peasant alike; that the sick man can be tended in a well-equipped hospital; that the criminal and the lunatic are no longer treated as wild beasts; that even the lot of the brute creation has not escaped the eyes of the reformer; that the solidarity of interests between the governors and the governed has been recognized in theory and in practice; that every act of the Administration, even if at times mistaken—for no one is infallible—bears the mark of honesty of purpose and an earnest desire to secure the well-being of the population; and further, that the funds, very much reduced in amount, which are now taken from the pockets of the taxpayers, instead of being, for the most part, spent on useless palaces and other objects, in which they were in no degree interested, are devoted to purposes which are of real benefit to the country? If all these, and many other, points to which I could allude, do not constitute some moral advancement, then, of a truth, I do not know what the word morality implies.

Let us criticize as much as we like the arrogance of tone in this and in the English belief in general that they are born to govern. But what do we Americans offer in place of their imperfect administration? Are we willing to take on our share of the job of internationalizing these plague-spots, or are we going to turn them over to the people who live there? Which people? To the Mahdi and Khalifa who rise on a wave of religious hysteria and cause the death of over five million Egyptians in the space of fourteen years? To the particular tribe with the sharpest sword? To the most corrupt, and therefore most powerful, native prince who will use machine-guns on the "aliens" in the next province because they honour the Prophet instead of the all-highest Lord Buddha? Is *laissez-faire* satisfactory? Actually there are only three "futures" for the undeveloped countries: anarchy, with the slavery and murder of the gentler tribes, and the unbridled exploitation of most of the natives; colonial rule; internationalization.

HORATIO BOTTOMLEY

The value of Horatio Bottomley as a leader in time of crisis can be appraised by these extracts from "John Bull." This in his contribution to child welfare :

EDUCATION

Will the new Education Minister just try to shake off his University prejudices, and bring in a short Act releasing from school attendance all children capable of assisting on farms or doing other useful work—for the duration of the war? Never mind when William the Conqueror came to the throne.

This is his knightly militant note :

To win through to victory we must make every German bite the dust. The women who danced in the streets when the *Lusitania* murders shocked civilization are fighting us just as much as the men who reeled with drink when the joy bells rang over little children done to death by the bombs of the Zeppelin.

One of his contributors has a word for backward races :

Why drain Great Britain dry of its manhood, until the coloured sons of Empire have been called into the fighting lines to help to bear the burden of war? We want more men to bring the Hun to his knees—why not three, six, or ten million coloured soldiers to help to ram the sword of Victory home? I know many of the coloured races, and I believe they would fight willingly and splendidly. Some opponents allege otherwise; if the latter are right, why ask the British taxpayers in time of peace to shell out to keep and protect a population that is no good to us in time of adversity?

Finally we have Bottomley, the man of faith and vision, facing the unseen, a gentleman unafraid :

I, the man of the world, the man of Business, the man of affairs, the disciple of Foote and Bradlaugh, the nephew of George Jacob Holyoake—I have come to be convinced that there is no such thing as Death.

THE WHITE KNIGHT

Here is a touch out of the eleventh century. A recent issue of "The Observer" stated that "if we are not mistaken," the line of the White Knight was now extinct. Philip John Fitz-Gibbon thereupon wrote to them in November of 1916 :

OBSERVER :

November 12, 1916.

I beg to observe that this is not the case. Though I have never assumed the title, I am the holder of it. . . . At the time of my father's death in February, 1881, my uncle published an obituary notice in "The Times" and other papers stating that my father, Maurice Fitz-Gibbon, was the White Knight and that I was his successor in the title.

In Vol. XVII., No. 93, of the Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society for January-March, 1912, Colonel J. Grove White, J.P., D.L., of Kilbyrne, Co. Cork, published the White Knight's pedigree (from Dominus Otho in A.D. 1057 to date), which was taken from the authorities he has therein quoted, and stated clearly that I hold the title of White Knight, being 24th in descent from the said Dominus Otho and 17th in descent from the first White Knight, Maurice, who was the eldest son of Gilbert, or Gibbon, whose second and third brothers, John and Maurice, were the respective ancestors of the Knights of Glinn (Black Knight) and Kerry (Red Knight). These Knighthoods date from the battle of Hallidon Hill in 1333.

The pedigree is taken largely from the Cotter MS., now in the British Museum. Burke's "Landed Gentry," too, states that I am the White Knight.

LOCAL PATRIOTISM

The British love of locality is often overlooked by foreign observers, because the Briton seldom puts it into words. Thus a French observer says that the word *patrie* does not exist in English : for a Frenchman *patrie* means his sacred soil : home and inheritance. But "the place and all around it" are equally dear to the Briton. Recently Lieutenant Lord Newborough died from trench-chill. In his will he wrote :

I wish to be buried, if I die in England, in the simplest manner compatible with decency, on the summit of the Bluff in Festiniog, which lies on the western side of the road from Bryn Llewellyn, and which Bluff is known to my sisters and intimate friends as Newborough Hill, as from that spot there is my favourite view down the Vale of Festiniog ; and I wish my tombstone to be a simple slab of stone from my estate, protected from desecration by tourists, but otherwise leaving my burial-place free for sheep and cattle to roam all around the actual grave.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

A writer has stated in the "Eugenics Review" of the British Commonwealth :

This conflict (the war), however huge, is no more than an episode in an immensely vaster struggle, of which the prize is not precarious political supremacy in Europe for a few generations, but world predominance irrevocably established by nature. True decision was reached nearly a century ago. The great immigrations and permanent conquests are drawing to a final close. Germany joins a contest already decided. The battle is over, and with us rests the ultimate victory. The Anglo-Saxons have more space for expansion than any other people. "All North America" is "in the grasp of the Anglo-Saxon and his race" has "almost limitless space for expansion." Subsequently he colonized Australasia. His place in the sun, his ultimate world-supremacy was now established. . . . With the exception of temperate South America and parts of the western seaboard of that continent, our race has colonized almost all the regions of the new world in which it is possible for a European race to flourish. In the coming future no other people will be so numerous, so widespread, or in command of resources so tremendous.

Canada and Australasia may follow the example of the United States, and separate politically from the parent stock. **BUT THE RACE ITSELF IS SECURE.** It is impossible, within the bounds of probability, to imagine a conjunction of circumstances capable of uprooting it from its new habitations. The sword and disease are the only agents of racial elimination known to us, and now the latter, like the former, is losing its power.

Dean Inge, who is one of the two or three best thinkers in the Established Church, has visioned the same future, and he sees the possibility of a white race of 200,000,000 in the British Commonwealth.

The swing of modern thought is away from this idea of national racial destiny, and toward the idea that the coming state will be a commonwealth : that is, a bundle of nations and races. The city-state was long ago too tiny a packet to hold humanity, and now the nation-State is being rapidly outgrown because of dispersions and world-movements of population. Students are increasingly inclined to believe that the future of the British Empire is that of a commonwealth of nations, rather than a future of racial integrity and homo-

geneity. The United States is already a composite of many nations, with the common denominator not yet discovered. Canada is fast turning to a congeries of nationalities.

Professor George M. Wrong, of the University of Toronto, has come to grips with this matter. He says :—

“ A racial nationalism involves either isolation, or the supremacy of a dominant race in a mixed state. It tends to run to pride and arrogance. When the British Empire was younger we used to hear a good deal about the triumphant destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race. In time, not likeness, but diversity of institutions was emphasized, and little thought was given to race. To-day no wise statesman has any thought of trying to Anglicize the British Empire. Let us dismiss for ever the superstition that there is any magic in race to hold people together and effect political unity. It is partnership in common liberties which unites people. The growth of the new nationalism in the British Empire is just the growth of Liberty.”

WHAT TO READ

A bibliography of the present reconstruction in Great Britain would number thousands of books and pamphlets. I wish to suggest a few of the more important of these for any reader who cares to make a study.

Graham Wallas's "Human Nature in Politics" and "The Great Society" are the products of a lifetime of constructive thinking by one of the fertile intellects of the modern world. No one who wishes to understand the deeper psychological elements in the problems of modern England can do without the help of Wallas. He is one of the few writers on human nature in national and international politics and industrial organization whose conclusions have been left unassailed by the war.

Bertrand Russell's "Principles of Social Reconstruction" (published in America as "Why Men Fight") is a stimulating instance of the new psychology applied to society. It contains passages of great beauty.

A. E. Zimmern's essays in the "Round Table" and in the volume "Progress and History" are a careful study of the

industrial situation by a man who understands the present tendency toward workers' control.

"The Reorganization of Industry," a pamphlet issued by Ruskin College, contains a skilful analysis of what the post-office would be under democratic control.

W. Mellor, the secretary of the National Guilds League, has kindly drawn up for me a list of references on workers' control. The list includes "Labour in War Time," by G. D. H. Cole; the publications of the National Guilds League on "National Guilds," "The Guild Idea," "Towards a Miners' Guild"; "National Guilds," edited by A. R. Orage; "The World of Labour," by Cole; "The Coal Trade" by H. S. Jevons; Cadbury's book on Experiments in Industrial Organization; "Trade as a Science"; "Co-operative Production and Profit Sharing," an investigation by the committee of the Fabian Research Department.

The Whitley Report on Joint Industrial Councils is an interesting and important next step, but it fails to deal fundamentally with certain of the questions. It is like the recent Russian manifestos: aimed in the right direction. Now comes the sterner job of defining terms and getting action. What, for instance, is to be the final relationship of the state to the Joint Industrial Board—mandatory, advisory, hortatory? Do Joint Committees mean Workers' Control for certain questions, or is "workers' control" merely a statement of grievance and a friendly discussion? As I understand it, the Whitley Report purposely burkes all searching questions, and is intended as a "feeler." This will explain the approval of the "Morning Post" and Liberal papers, who never before drove in one team toward the green and pleasant land of Syndicalism. The report offers a piece of excellent machinery. Who shall control that machinery remains the important question, and what is the percentage of control to capital, to management, to the workers and to the state is contained in the same question.

The Reports of the Commission of Enquiry into Industrial Unrest are essential to any one wishing to understand the

forces and tendencies in the Labour Movement. The Report on Wales, in particular, is a model of what social investigation at its best can give in analysis and synthesis.

Reports of value are those of a "Conference of British Employers and Trade Unionists on the Industrial Outlook," one of "Leeds Trade Unionists and Others," and one of a "Conference at Stoke of Operatives and Manufacturers on the Pottery Industry after the War."

The reader should also consult "A Memorandum on Industrial Self-Government, together with a draft scheme for a Builders' National Industrial Parliament," by Malcolm Sparkes.

The investigation by the section of economic science and statistics of the British Association for the Advancement of Science has been published under the title of "Labour, Finance, and the War."

The pamphlet "Great Britain After the War," by Sidney Webb and Arnold Freeman, is a short and valuable summary.

The Garton Foundation has issued a book on the "Industrial Situation after the War," which analyzes the revolutionary unrest and suggests remedies. Mr. Balfour is one of the trustees of this foundation.

The investigations of Seebohm Rowntree are already classics for social workers. His studies of York, of agricultural labour, of land, of Belgium, are widely known. It will be found that his recommendations will be influential in the reconstruction.

An important study of Industrial Unrest will be found in the "Manchester Guardian" in issues through the month of June, 1917.

The best synthesis of the British Social Revolution appears in "After-War Problems" (George Allen & Unwin). Such chapters as those by the late Lord Cromer, Dr. James Kerr, Margaret McMillan, and Professor Marshall, ought to be printed in penny pamphlets and scattered by the thousand.

William Hard, in the "Metropolitan Magazine" (1917), Will Irwin and Isaac Marcossin in the "Saturday Evening

Post" (1916, and 1917) have contributed valuable studies of the social changes in England.

No more important book has been published during the war than "The Town Labourer," by J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond. It shows the mould into which our industrial civilization was run in the years 1760-1832. It is an indictment of that civilization as it persisted up to the outbreak of the present war.

"The Times" has had four series of articles of high importance. One series has been republished in a pamphlet called "The Elements of Reconstruction," with an introduction by Viscount Milner. A second series was on the resources of the empire, written by Wilson Fox, and led to the formation of the Empire Resources Development Committee. A third was on the South Wales miners, and was instrumental in leading the Government to take over the mines. A fourth was on the industrial situation after the war, and is a powerful statement for workers' control. It is written by Sidney Webb, and is now republished in pamphlet form.

Miss Proud's book on "Welfare Work," with an introduction by Lloyd George, is a careful compilation of the improvements in the status of the British worker instituted by employers, the trade-unions, and the state. There is little interpretation in the book, but a valuable mass of facts.

There is unfortunately nothing comprehensive on the woman's movement in its present development. The material in existence is slight and imperfect. Women are grouped with men, with children, with the community. The problem of married women in work is neglected. The woman's duty to the race is still religiously emphasized, as if the results of overwork and undernourishment on the woman herself were of no more significance than the wearing out of a donkey-engine. An admirable bibliography, "Women in Industry," has been selected by L. W. Papworth and Dorothy Zimmern. The report of Miss Anderson to the Home Office and Mrs. Bernard Drake's "Women in Engineering" are valuable for the area they cover. Files of the "Woman Worker," an

organ of the Women's Trade Union Movement, cover many specific instances. "Woman's Effort," by A. E. Metcalfe, should be consulted. But the book of the movement remains to be written. What is needed in England to give coherence and self-consciousness to the woman's movement is as good a book as Katharine Anthony's "Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia."

The literature of the internationalizing of thought is already large. An excellent popular book in the United States has been written by Robert Goldsmith, called, "A League to Enforce Peace." This book is of peculiar value to an English reader, because it reveals the native idealism of American thought and it does so while presenting a programme of action. No recent book can better serve to give the Briton, desirous of apprehending the American mind, an instance of a certain combination of common sense and fervent hope that we like to believe is distinctively American. H. N. Brailsford's "A League of Nations," and L. S. Woolf's "International Government" are two out of a score of recent English books on the problem of a European and world settlement. Deeper even than the urge of all recorded movements there is spreading a desire for good will to prevail. The victory of Russian liberalism has suddenly set the thinking of mankind at a deeper level. The mass people are vaguely but hopefully turning toward some larger synthesis than a narrow nationalism. They wish something that will give peace in our time, a political programme that will not defraud the instinct of nationality but will liberate it into a larger vessel than the rigid nation-state. The commonwealth of nationalities is the goal toward which swift currents are bearing them—such a Commonwealth as that into which the British Empire is slowly transforming itself. The European world is waiting to-day for a man like Lincoln or Francis of Assisi to appear who will state these hopes of humanity in clear orderly form.

An excellent English statement of the Irish situation is given in the "Round Table" for September, 1916. George Russell ("A. E.") handles economics with his own admir-

able rhythm in his volume, "The National Being: Some Thoughts on an Irish Polity." He is one of three leaders in the Irish Co-operative Movement. No book exists to give us the full history of the co-operative movement in Ireland. It should be written. "Labour in Ireland," by the late James Connolly, is a review of the industrial situation.

For an understanding of the young men of Ireland to-day the files for recent months of such weeklies as the "New Ireland" and "Irish Opinion" are necessary. Nowhere else is there so bold and clear an expression of the idealism which is penetrating the younger elements of the nation.

Such, then, are a few of the publications of comment on the vast changes now under way in the British nation. The opportunity is ripe for a book on the British commonwealth corresponding to Bryce's "American Commonwealth."

"I SEE BY THE PAPERS"

Here follow a few quotations from recent newspapers, periodicals, and public men, which may be found helpful in estimating the drift of public opinion.

The "Westminster Gazette" on July 14, 1917, said:—

"We wish it were possible to pass a short Act of Parliament compelling their authors (of books on reconstruction) to sum up and print on the last page in a few simple propositions what exactly it is that they want us to do."

A well-justified request. What those workers and leaders whom I have met wish to see changed I have stated in the chapters "The Social Revolution in England," "Workers' Control," "Emancipation," "Bowing Them Out," "Poverty," "Where the Lane Turns," and in the appendix under "Education and the Workers," "Land," "Machinery," "Empire Resources," "Light Railways," "Housing," "Co-operation, Socialism, Syndicalism," "Irish Railways," "Irish Agriculture," "Child Welfare." It is found in the books, pamphlets, and reports I have listed,

Briefly, what is taking place is a transfer of control from privileged classes to the people. It is the establishment of "democratic control" in industry, politics, the franchise, the Irish policy, education. "Democratic Control" I have tried to define in the chapter bearing that title. Through democratic control, a change is coming over the British Commonwealth. Politics is widening the basis of representation. The ownership of industry is tending to pass in part under the State and the management of industry is tending to pass in part under the control of workers. "The goal of political endeavour is not peace, but freedom."

Sir Horace Plunkett has recently stated that to those who cherished an undying hatred of England he would say that the England of the war is wholly unlike any England that has ever been. "It is dominated by labour and it wants to do justice to Ireland."

This transference of power from the few to the many is acknowledged by nearly all leaders of public opinion, though opposed by some.

Dean Inge on December 25, 1916, said ;—

"After the war the control of our destinies will pass into the hands of that class which seems to me—I hope I am not unjust to them—to be at present not the most fully educated in those moral questions which make a nation great and united and happy—the class of organized labour. It is they who will decide whether we are to sink or swim. It is useless to scold, and much worse than useless to flatter them."

Mr. Prothero, the Minister for Agriculture, has said (in the House of Commons on July 19, 1917) :—

"It is not a man's calling to be a labourer or a lawyer or even a land agent. In the wider sense of the word, a man's calling is to be a man. It is important to provide the means for training a man for his hours of leisure as well as for his working hours. To think of wages in any other sense would in these democratic days be heading straight for destruction."

Sir A. Stanley, president of the Board of Trade, stated on March 20 :—

“ The fact has to be faced that higher wages are here to stay. It is all to the advantage of employers and of the country that what are termed high wages shall continue after the war.”

Sir Edward Carson on May 24, 1917, said :—

“ Labour never again will be satisfied, nor ought it to be satisfied, to be in the condition that it was before the war.”

Dean Welldon wrote in “ The Times ” of June 14, 1917 :—

“ If it were necessary to express in a single phrase the prevailing sentiment of the operatives among whom I live, so far as I know them, I should say it is the passion for equality.”

A. Bellamy, of the National Union of Railwaymen, has said :—

“ Whether nationalization or control were decided upon, it ought to be made unmistakably clear that neither system would be acceptable to railwaymen unless they were given a share in management.”

The Triple Industrial Alliance is composed of the Miners' Federation ; the National Union of Railwaymen ; and the Transport Workers' Federation. When Robert Smillie, of the Miners, spoke a few months ago at a conference, he spoke with the voice of 1,300,000 workers. He said :—

“ The Triple Alliance has, for the period of the war, acted only on the defensive, but there would come a time when they would formulate proposals of aggressive action. The mere threat ought to be sufficient to bring about their well-thought-out democratic demands.”

In referring to workers' control of industry, Graham Wallas has said :—

“ In the highly organized great industries, the rights of control should be divided—some of them assigned to the State, some of them to the persons engaged in the industry, others to those who contribute the capital. Concentrated directive power has ceased. Distribution of power is a fact. What is the percentage of control is the real question.”

Thomas Case writes from Corpus Christi College, Oxford, on June 11, 1917, to "The Times,;" He sees three serious changes in the nation. (1) It has drifted from a mixed government of King, Lords and Commons "into an absolute democracy, or unlimited government by the many for the many at the expense of the few." (2) The traditional Constitution was based on the rights of property and contract, but "the nation has become too lenient to the use of might," as in the strikes of trade unionists. (3) "The nation has passed into a certain approbation of revolution."

He points out that under the spread of democracy "the present lawful owners and masters would lose in capital, in income, and in the management of property; and, in consequence, as servants rose masters would sink in wealth, social status, and political power, until ownership and master-ship would become little more than names. This social and political revolution would enlarge the tyranny of the many over the few and enrich manual labourers. But would it be for the permanent good of the nation?"

One asks which nation? For as the Hammonds have shown in "The Town Labourer," the Industrial Revolution created two nations in England—one of the privileged class, and one of the dispossessed. And to-day "men and women refuse to believe that England must always remain two nations."

That "the present lawful owners and masters" are still more than "names" is illustrated by advertisements in the same newspaper, under date of June 6, 1917. I select two out of many;—

"Required experienced House Parlour-maid; 3 in family; 6 maids kept."

"House-maid required; family 2; 6 maids."

That "enriching manual labourers" would not necessarily wreck England is suggested by the reports of a year ago made by the medical officer of health for Woolwich. He wrote:—

"As a result of the increased prosperity in Woolwich, the homes are better furnished, the provision of bedding is more satisfactory,

and the children are better clothed. With better financial conditions many of the homes I almost despaired of have become improved, almost beyond belief, which goes to prove very emphatically that if we want to eliminate the slum type of human being and the slum type of home the surest and quickest way is to give the workman a good living wage. It is only natural that wives and mothers get tired of struggling against a tide of difficulties which every day threatens to engulf them."

The social change in Great Britain is the result of many agencies. What Santayana calls "the molecular forces of society" have undermined the old classes system. This "shifting of great subterranean forces" is felt by all, though the resultant baffles prophecy.

Mr. Balfour (in the House of Commons on July 18, 1917) has spoken of "the vast complicated machinery of permanent officials by which alone you can carry on the colossal business of government." When I was in Dublin, A. E. said to me that it is ten per cent. of a people that know what they want. On June 19, 1917, Lord Robert Cecil said in the House of Commons :—

"If fundamental questions arose, they had to be determined by force, and it was absurd to suppose they could be settled by any questions of counting votes. In these cases, it was not often a majority that settled them; it was the burning heat of conviction, of determination, of a small body of desperate or determined men to carry through what they believed to be for the essential welfare of the State."

Recently, I heard Bernard Shaw say :—

"There is no time for any further discussion, so I will say a few words. When the war came, the Labour Party decided that it would co-operate loyally with the Government. It felt that it could not itself run the war and the Government. In its mind it agreed with the decision of the labour leaders in joining the Government. It could not well do otherwise. And yet, at the recent convention of the Labour Party, the men who were most vigorously applauded were the rebels, the men who had stood out for an independent attitude toward the war. The heart of the Labour Party was with these men, showing that its old hope is still alive of one day taking command. That is the position we are in to-day with the recon-

struction. The workers desire control, but they do not yet fully know how to take it."

The movement toward democratic control is vaster than the desires or competency in manipulation of any single group in the community. Prince Kropotkin, in his farewell letter to England, wrote ;—

" There are moments in the life of mankind when certain general ideas prepared by a slow evolution of the mind get hold with an unprecedented clearness of the great masses of men. Such a moment takes place now."

Many institutions other than those of capital and labour in industry are included in this movement toward democratic control. The Established Church is undergoing the same " shifting of great subterranean forces." William Temple, Albert Mansbridge, and others of " the Life and Liberty Movement," have written ;—

" Those who are promoting this movement are convinced that we must win for the Church full power to control its own life, even at the cost, if necessary, of disestablishment and of whatever consequences that may possibly involve."

Agriculture is being examined in the same hard dry light as industry. John Galsworthy has written in the " Observer " ;—

" We do not realize the great deterioration of our stock ; the squashed-in, stunted, disproportionate, commonized look of the bulk of our people. Ugliness has become a matter of course."

The causes of this ? He cites the great industrial towns, with their town-blight, cramp, poor air, poor food, and herd life. The cure ? Fresh air, good food, sunlight, and a modicum of solitude. In short, a wise agricultural policy of arable land, small holdings, garden allotments, and decent housing.

Sir Horace Plunkett, in his pamphlet, " A Better Way," has said ;—

" The evil of external government is seen at its worst where England, a rich country with eighty per cent. of its population urban, industrial, and commercial, makes laws for Ireland, a relatively poor country with over seventy per cent. of its population rural and agricultural."

Finally, General Smuts has essayed the problem of the coming Commonwealth with an authority and clarity which no other statesman of these years has shown. On May 15 he said ;—

“ No political ideas which we have evolved in the past will apply to this world which is comprised in the British Empire. What I feel in regard to all the empires of the past, and even in regard to the United States, is that the effort has always been towards forming one nation—always one nation. All the empires we have known in the past and that exist to-day are founded on the idea of assimilation, of trying to force human material into one mould. Your whole idea and basis is entirely different. You do not want to standardize the nations of the British Empire; you want to develop them towards a greater nationality. These communities, the offspring of the Mother Country, or territories like my own, which have been annexed after the vicissitudes of war, must not be moulded in any one pattern. You want them to develop on the principle of self-government, and therefore your whole idea is different from anything that has ever existed before. That is the fundamental fact we have to bear in mind—that this British Commonwealth of nations does not stand for standardization or conventionalization, but for the fuller, richer, and more various life of all the nations comprised in it.”



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